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SELBSTOPFER DES GEISTES

Fluch und Verheißung in Hofmannsthals „Der Turm“ und Thomas Manns „Doktor Faustus“

WILLIAM H. REY
University of Washington

Dieser Versuch, die Hauptgestalten der tiefproblematischen Alterswerke zweier repräsentativer Autoren unserer Epoche in Beziehung zu setzen, ist ein Wagnis, das der Rechtfertigung bedarf.¹ Es muß auf den Einwand gefaßt sein, hier werde im Grunde Unvergleichbares, dem Bannkreis des jeweiligen Werkes unlösbar Verhaftetes verglichen. Wenn das Wagnis trotzdem unternommen wird, so in der Überzeugung, daß es sich dabei nicht um eine willkürliche Zusammenstellung handelt. Die beiden Gestalten, der sagenhafte Königssohn Sigismund und der moderne Komponist Adrian Leverkühn, sind vielmehr *einer* Schreckvision entsprungen, die gerade in unserer Zeit eine bedrohliche Aktualität gewonnen hat: Es ist der Alptraum von dem Ende der menschlichen Kultur und damit der Kunst. Die Untergangsprophetie Nietzsches und seiner Nachfolger, die historischen Zusammenbrüche unseres Jahrhunderts bilden den grausig-erhabenen Hintergrund von Hofmannsthals Tragödie und Thomas Manns Roman. Beseelt von einer heroischen Unerschrockenheit, akzeptieren beide Autoren die Herausforderung der modernen Geschichte und machen die Kulturkatastrophe (den „Einbruch chaotischer Kräfte in eine vom Geist nicht mehr getragenen Ordnung,“² um Hofmannsthals Worte anzuführen) zum Generalthema ihres Werks. Die Frage, die von ihnen erhoben wird, lautet: Ist in der hereinbrechenden Weltnacht, die das Bild des Menschen zu verschlingen droht, noch Kunst möglich, und welche Mission kommt in dieser Situation äußerster Gefährdung dem Künstler zu?

Erst heute, da Lebensgang und Lebenswerk beider Autoren ganz übersehen werden können, treten jene gemeinsamen Züge voll hervor, die Thomas Mann 1929 in seinem Nachruf auf Hofmannsthal veranlaßten, ihn einen „Bruder in der Zeit“³ zu nennen. Wenn er, erschüttert durch die Todesnachricht aus Rodaun, „von Brüderlichkeit, von Schicksalsverwandtschaft“ spricht, so gelten diese Worte zunächst dem Generationsgefährten, der, ebenso wie Thomas Mann, im kulturellen Klima des

zu Ende gehenden 19. Jahrhunderts aufgewachsen ist. Sie gelten im besonderen aber dem Mitkämpfer im Ringen um die Regeneration echter Kultur während der Nachkriegszeit. Man liest mit Betroffenheit, wie tief Thomas Mann die tragische Bedeutung des Jahres 1918 für Hofmannsthal empfand, jenes Jahres, in dem für den Österreicher „die Welt, der Kosmos, die Ordnung, ‚die Monarchie‘ untergeht.“ Ahnte er damals im Jahre 1929, als er *Mario und der Zauberer* schrieb, daß der Untergang seiner eigenen Welt unmittelbar bevorstand? *Konnte* er damals ahnen, daß auch ihm das Schicksal des Vaters beschieden war, der unermüdlich unter der Forderung des Tages seine geistige Pflicht tut – und den verzagenden Sohn neben sich zusammenbrechen sehen muß?

Wenn wir die Schicksals- und Geistesverwandtschaft unserer Autoren betonen, so dürfen doch jene „Unterschiede der Geburt, der Überlieferung und Lebensstimmung“ nicht unterschlagen werden, auf die Thomas Mann in seinem Nachruf hinweist. In der Tat durchdringen sich hier Verbundenheit und Gegensatz zu einem komplizierten Verhältnis komplementärer Kontraste. Auf den ersten Blick freilich scheinen die Unterschiede zu dominieren. Hanseatisches Patriziat mit exotischem Einschlag tritt dem spät geadelten Bürgertum der Donaumonarchie gegenüber, in dem sich deutsche, jüdische, und italienische Elemente verbinden. Der geographische Abstand zwischen Nord und Süd kehrt auf höherer Ebene wieder in der strengen Haltung künstlerischer Selbstbezweiflung, die, aus der ethischen Tradition deutschen Luthertums und der Lebensskepsis Schopenhauers erwachsen, ihre gegensätzliche Entsprechung findet in dem Jugendzauber einer katholisch-mediterranen Ich- und Weltseligkeit. Aber die Gegenüberstellung des jungen Thomas Mann als Vertreters einer kritischen, unter dem Fluch ihrer Isolierung leidenden Geistigkeit mit dem jungen Hofmannsthal, dem „Götterjüngling“, dem die Gnade einer mystisch-magischen Allverbundenheit zuteil geworden, wird doch der polaren Grundanlage beider Dichter nicht gerecht. Die Liebe zum Dasein ist für den Verfasser des *Tonio Kröger* ebenso charakteristisch wie seine alles durchschauende Skepsis. Und wo hätte die Trauer weltentfremdeter Innerlichkeit bededteren Ausdruck gewonnen als in *Der Tor und der Tod*? In der Ambivalenz von Weltverbundenheit und Weltentfremdung, jeweils aus verschiedenen Voraussetzungen erwachsend, darf also eine gemeinsame Grunderfahrung der jungen Autoren gesehen werden, die sie durch ihr ganzes Leben begleitet und gerade in ihrer letzten Schaffensperiode erhöhte Bedeutung gewinnt. In ihr liegen Elemente des klassischen und romantischen Erbes im Widerstreit und rufen nach schöpferischer Versöhnung. Daß beide Dichter diesem Aufruf gefolgt sind, daß sie sich, dem Leitgestirn Goethe folgend, in ihrer Reifezeit zu einer klassischen Grundhaltung bekannt haben, die den romantischen Gegenpol gleichsam in sich aufgenommen hat, zu einem „pessimistischen Humanismus“ also, der das Obere mit dem Unteren in einem Menschentum der Mitte ver-

söhnen will, — diese Tatsache gibt Thomas Mann das Recht, in seinem Nachruf von Brüderlichkeit zu sprechen.

Geistesgeschichtlich gesehen, bedeutet diese Hinwendung zu Goethe den Versuch, die philosophischen Extreme des 19. Jahrhunderts, die asketische Lebensverneinung Schopenhauers und den verzweifelden Lebensenthusiasmus Nietzsches, zu überwinden und die Einheit von Leben und Geist im Menschlichen und Sozialen künstlerisch darzustellen. Diese Einheit ist für beide Autoren das Kennzeichen der ersehnten kulturellen Regeneration. Die programmatische Forderung, unter die Hofmannsthal in „Ad me ipsum“⁴ seine eigene Entwicklung stellt, den Weg ins Leben zu gehen, gilt ebenso für Thomas Mann. Die Werke beider Autoren, dichterische Selbstdarstellungen auf verschiedenen Entwicklungsstufen, sind zugleich Dokumente einer sittlichen Selbstüberwindung, die der immer gegenwärtigen Verlockung zu romantischer Todesmystik und zu nihilistischer Verzweiflung widersteht — aus Liebe zu dem „Sorgenkind des Lebens.“⁵ Die Sorge um das Schicksal des Menschen, um das Schicksal der Kultur erweist sich als ein entscheidendes gemeinsames Charakteristikum. In bewußter Abkehr von einer „reinen Kunst“ weisen unsere Autoren dem Dichter seinen Ort mitten in dieser Zeit an, — damit er sich über die Zeit erhebe. Als Repräsentant einer kulturellen Tradition, in der das Europäische und Orientalische eine Verbindung von universalem Rang eingegangen sind, tritt er den kulturzerstörenden Gewalten der Anarchie, der Barbarei und des Terrors entgegen. Durchdrungen von einem religiösen Verantwortungsgefühl, projiziert er zeitgebundene Problematik in das überzeitliche Medium des Mythos, um die Verworrenheit des Vergänglichen in der Klarheit des Immerwiederkehrenden zu lösen. Die Hauptgestalten der reifen Werke unserer Autoren sind Vertreter eines hohen Menschentums und zugleich Objektivierungen des dichterischen Selbst.⁶ In ihnen wird eine tiefe Sehnsucht nach kosmischer Einheit, Ganzheit und Ordnung dichterische Wirklichkeit. Gewiß, diese klassisch-romantische Sehnsucht nach Weltharmonie verwirklicht sich in verschiedenen Formen: bei Thomas Mann als ironisch ausgewogenes Gleichgewicht der Gegensätze des Daseins, bei Hofmannsthal als ihre mystisch-magische Durchdringung im Wunder liebender Hingabe. Immer aber ist es der Held als Repräsentant des Dichters, in dem sich die große, beispielhafte Versöhnung vollzieht. Die Auffassung des Dichtertums als aktiver Lebensführung, als sozialer Lebensfürsorge findet ihre höchste Ausprägung in dem Prinzen Sigismund der ersten Turmfassung⁷ (der allerdings in unserer Perspektive mit dem Kinderkönig zusammengesehen werden muß) und in Joseph, dem Ernährer.⁸ Die Handlung in *Turm I* ist durch die Tatsache bestimmt, daß Sigismund aus seiner Innerlichkeit heraustritt und den Aufstand der Unterwelt, geführt von Olivier, niederwirft. Als Feldherr und Gesetzgeber, als Bahnbrecher eines neuen Zeitalters des Friedens formt er das Schicksal der Epoche. In ihm und in Joseph, den Rettern der Menschen vor dem Untergang in Chaos und Hungersnot, tritt die große

Integration von Geist und Natur, von Traum und Tat, von Wissen und Macht hervor, mit der ein Gipfelpunkt im Schaffen unserer Autoren erreicht ist. Trotz aller tragischen Untertöne erscheint der Repräsentant des Dichters als Verkörperung des göttlichen Menschen, der seinen Ort in der Mitte der Welt einnimmt, ein Sinnbild höchster irdischer Erfüllung des Daseins.

Diese flüchtige, allzu flüchtige Entwicklungsskizze schien notwendig, um den Bruch zwischen der ersten Fassung des Trauerspiels *Der Turm* von 1925 und der zweiten Fassung des Jahres 1927 sichtbar zu machen – einen Bruch, der sich auch zwischen der Josephstetralogie und *Doktor Faustus* abzeichnet. Wie schon angedeutet, ist der Sturz des dichterischen Geistes aus harmonischer Weltverbundenheit in tragische Weltentfremdung in der biographischen Erfahrung der Dichter begründet. In *Turm I* wie im Josephroman steht die Geschichte im Dienst der Selbstverwirklichung des Menschengeschlechts und damit in göttlichem Auftrag. Nun aber enthüllt sie sich als zerstörerische Macht, die die Menschheit ins Verderben zieht. *Turm II* und *Doktor Faustus* sind überschattet von apokalyptischer Düsternis. Die Zeit, in den reifen Werken unserer Autoren eine Vermählung des Vergänglichen und des Ewigen, ist (in Hofmannsthals Worten) „reißend geworden“⁹ und stürzt (wie es in *Doktor Faustus* heißt) „dem Ende entgegen.“¹⁰ Das Antlitz der Welt, über dem vorher die Verheißung des wiederzufindenden Paradieses schwebte, ist zu einer höhnischen Fratze entstellt. Die Gotteswelt hat sich in eine Teufelswelt verwandelt und taumelt der Sklaverei barbarischer Diktatoren entgegen. Der Teufel als Herr der Apokalypse tritt nicht nur in *Doktor Faustus* auf, er erscheint bereits in Hofmannsthals Tragödie als der machtbesessene Gefreite (!) Olivier, der die Keule des Schicksals über den Rücken seiner Opfer schwingt. In dieser gottfernen, ins Dämonische verzerrten Umwelt ist der zarte Dichtertraum eines verklärten Daseins nicht mehr möglich. Vor dem Unmaß menschlicher Not und Entwürdigung zerflattert die Vision göttlich-menschlicher Weltharmonie und sinkt zum wesenlosen Schein herab. Daß das Schöne ein Trug sei, hinter dem sich die tiefe Fragwürdigkeit des Daseins verberge, ist eine entscheidende Jugenderfahrung des Komponisten Leverkühn. Sie entspricht der Einsicht Hofmannsthals, daß die Kulturkrise des 20. Jahrhunderts „fast alles als Illusion enthüllt hat“ (Burckhardt, *Erinnerungen*, S. 54). Soll Kunst mehr sein als ein verächtliches, bedeutungsloses Spiel mit den entleerten Formen des Gestrigen, so muß der epochale Vorgang der Desillusionierung als Voraussetzung künstlerischen Schaffens akzeptiert werden. Der Schein des Schönen muß der Forderung nach Wahrheit weichen. Für den Künstler der Endzeit gibt es im Grunde nur ein Thema, auch wenn es ihn selbst zu überwältigen droht: das Ende. Die Forderung eines äußersten Realismus lautet in Hofmannsthals Formulierung: „Darzustellen das eigentlich Erbarmungslose unserer Wirklichkeit . . .“ („Ad me ipsum“, S. 379). Und in *Doktor Faustus* wird der Kunst die Aufgabe gestellt, „der unverstellte

und unverklärte Ausdruck des Leides in seinem realen Augenblick“ (361) zu sein. Aber die Verpflichtung des Künstlers auf die unerbittliche Wahrheit bedeutet nicht etwa Rückfall in einen Naturalismus, der den Menschen als Opfer des Realen sieht. Für die Verfasser der zweiten Turmfassung und des *Doktor Faustus* ist die vorbehaltlose Anerkennung der dämonisierten Wirklichkeit nur eine dialektische Übergangsphase: Mitten im Triumph diabolischer Mächte ertönt das Motiv göttlicher Verheißung. Die heroische Selbsthingabe des schöpferischen Geistes schlägt um in eine letzte, unantastbare Selbstbehauptung. Unter dem ungeheuren Druck geschichtlicher Notwendigkeit entbrennt der Funke persönlicher Freiheit. Der höchste Adel des Menschen, der auf der sittlichen Kraft des Opfers beruht, erweist sich als unzerstörbar.

In der zweiten Fassung des *Turm* und in *Doktor Faustus* gewinnt das Leitmotiv des Opfers, das die reifen Werke Hofmannsthals und Thomas Manns durchzieht, absolute Bedeutung. Nicht die Erhöhung, sondern die Rettung des Menschlichen ist der Auftrag des Protagonisten, und dieser Auftrag kann nur durch den stellvertretenden Opfertod am Kreuz der Zeit erfüllt werden. An die Stelle des göttlichen Menschen, in dem sich die göttliche Harmonie des Daseins darstellt, tritt der Märtyrer, der der Welt Sünde trägt. Die Märtyrergestalten Sigismund und Adrian, denen grundsätzlich die gleiche Mission zufällt, weisen jedoch charakteristische Wesensunterschiede auf. Von tieferer Bedeutung für unser Thema ist die Tatsache, daß Sigismund auch noch in der zweiten Turmfassung die Ganzheit des Menschen repräsentiert. Gewiß, er greift nicht mehr (so wie in *Turm I*) handelnd in die Geschehnisse der Welt ein. Aber wenn sich auch der Held, der Geist und Tat vereint, in den Heiligen verwandelt hat, so ist dieser Heilige doch innerlich heil. Als schuldloses Opfer des Weltunrechts in das Gefängnis des Turms geworfen, wird ihm dieser Turm zugleich zum geistigen Bollwerk seiner Innerlichkeit, an dem sich der Ansturm des entfesselten „äußeren Lebens“ bricht. Im Tumult der Zeit stellt sich allein in ihm der reine ewige Geist dar. Noch in seiner Einsamkeit ist er universal, weil er teilhat an dem wahren, göttlichen Sein jenseits der Erscheinungswelt. Diese platonische Identifizierung von Geist und Sein ist die letzte Waffe Hofmannsthals im Kampf gegen die barbarischen Mächte der Tyrannei, die über die Welt des Nur-Realen triumphieren. Das Wissen Sigismunds um die Heimat des Geistes im Unsichtbaren, in einer Zone jenseits der Gewalt, verleiht ihm eine metaphysische Überlegenheit, ja Unantastbarkeit, gegenüber dem Gewalthaber Olivier. Auf dessen Drohungen antwortet er nur mit Verachtung: „Du hast mich nicht . . . Du siehst mich nicht einmal . . . , weil deine Augen vermauert sind mit dem was nicht ist.“¹¹

Das Wirkliche als bloßer Schein — ist das nicht auch die Perspektive Adrians in *Doktor Faustus*? War es nicht schon die Perspektive Tonio Krögers, der, alles durchschauend, hinter allem nichts als Komik und Elend entdeckte? Hier offenbart sich einer der Gegensätze zwischen

den Protagonisten Hofmannsthals und Thomas Manns, der doch auf einer höheren Ebene aufgehoben wird. Der den Traum des Lebens durchdringende Blick des Geistes erfaßt in *Turm II* das Sein, — in *Doktor Faustus* stürzt er ins Nichts. Als irdische Verkörperung göttlicher Reinheit und alles umfassender Liebe steht Sigismund in unbedingtem Gegensatz zu der Dämonie des Bösen. In Adrian dagegen begeht der Geist die Sünde des Hochmuts und der Vermessenheit und ist vom Fluch der Lieblosigkeit bedroht. Zunächst also ergibt sich der Eindruck eines scharfen Kontrastes: Repräsentanten des reinen und des sündigen Geistes stehen sich gegenüber — und sind doch wiederum durch den gleichen Auftrag verbunden. Es handelt sich um den Durchbruch aus der Weltlosigkeit in die Welt und zu den Menschen. Dieser Durchbruch, ein entscheidendes Leitmotiv in *Doktor Faustus*, ist für Sigismund nur als Paradox möglich: Er ereignet sich im Augenblick seines Todes. Beseelt von Sehnsucht nach Gemeinschaft, von Mitleid mit der leidenden Menschheit, gibt er sich den Scharfschützen Oliviers preis und wird von ihnen erschossen. Die Hoffnung des Volkes auf ein Reich der Liebe und des Friedens (die gleiche Hoffnung, die am Ende von *Der Zauberberg* aufblüht) ist zertrümmert. Hofmannsthals eschatologische Sehnsuchtsvision, „daß der Geist Leben wird und Leben Geist,“¹² sinkt unter diesen Schüssen in sich zusammen. Und was bleibt? Ist der Triumph des Diktators über den Messias das letzte Wort des Dichters? Entschiedener noch als Thomas Mann verwehrt uns Hofmannsthal am Ende seiner letzten und strengsten Tragödie jeden erhebenden Ausblick auf eine neue Ordnung jenseits des hereinbrechenden Zeitalters der Barbarei. Der Schnitt zwischen Geist und Geschichte wird mit unerbittlicher, selbstquälerischer Schärfe vollzogen. Und doch, gibt es nicht auch hier, wie in *Doktor Faustus*, eine Hoffnung jenseits der Hoffnungslosigkeit? Hat sich die Sehnsucht nach Verbundenheit, die Sigismund beseelt, vielleicht gerade in seinem Selbstopfer erfüllt? Nicht in der Lebensordnung des Sozialen findet die Liebe des Geistes zu den Menschen Erfüllung, wohl aber in der Gemeinschaft des Leides. Der sterbende Sigismund wird so zum Sinnbild geistiger Selbstbehauptung im Akt der Selbsthingabe. Seine Klage über die Einsamkeit seines Lebens ist aufgehoben in der Universalität des Schmerzes, die er im Augenblick seines Opfertodes repräsentiert. In der Vereinigung von göttlichem Geist und menschlichem Leid aber liegt eine Verheißung, die über der Gewalt des geschichtlichen Schicksals steht und noch das Dunkel der Weltnacht erhellt. Die Aufforderung, dieses Licht weiterzureichen, auch wenn sich keine Morgenröte am Horizont zeigt, darf als geistiges Testament des Dichters Hugo von Hofmannsthal bezeichnet werden. Es ist niedergelegt in den letzten Worten Sigismunds: „Gebet Zeugnis, ich war da, wenngleich mich niemand gekannt hat“ (*Dramen IV*, S. 463).

In *Doktor Faustus* findet der Durchbruch nicht im Tode des Komponisten Leverkühn statt, sondern in seinem letzten Werk, der Symphonischen Kantate „Doctor Fausti Weheklag.“ Der Glaube, auf dem

die Gestalt Sigismunds beruht, daß sich das Göttliche auch in einer den Dämonen verfallenen Welt durch die reine Seele des hohen Menschen unmittelbar darstellen und im Akt des Selbstopfers seine erlösende Kraft offenbaren könne, fällt in der apokalyptischen Vision Thomas Manns dahin. Wie schon angedeutet, ist Adrian zunächst gekennzeichnet durch den hochmütigen Nihilismus des gottentfremdeten Geistes. So tritt seine Beziehung zum Diabolischen schon vor der Begegnung mit Hetaera Esmeralda, der Botin des Teufels, zutage. Wie Sigismund steht auch er im Zeichen der Einsamkeit. Aber *seine* Einsamkeit liegt in dem Mangel an Liebe begründet. Ohne den Segen der Seele und des Lebens, weiß er sich zur Unfruchtbarkeit verurteilt. Wäre er nun wirklich nichts als ein Vertreter jenes Geistes, „der stets verneint,“ so könnte ihn dieser Umstand nur mit Befriedigung erfüllen. In seiner Angst vor künstlerischer Sterilität, in seinem heißen Willen zum schöpferischen Werk (der zu seinem Zynismus gegenüber dem Werk der Schöpfung in verätherischem Widerspruch steht) deuten sich tiefere und ihm selbst verborgene Wesensgründe an: Der *homo diaboli*, als der uns Adrian zunächst entgegentritt, ist insgeheim auf den *homo dei*, d. h. auf die Integration von Geist und Gefühl, Form und Seele, angelegt. Seine Tragik besteht darin, daß ihm die Verwirklichung dieser Integration als höchster menschlicher *Lebensform* versagt bleibt. Er ist vielmehr dazu auserwählt, sich selbst zu opfern, um in seinem *Werk* das Bild des Menschen zu retten. Selbstopfer bedeutet also hier nicht, wie in *Turm II*, die Selbsthingabe des reinen Gotteslamms, sondern die willentlich-schicksalhafte Selbstzerstörung des Künstlers im Dienst der künstlerischen Tat. Diese Tat aber, die darin besteht, Schuld und Leid der geschlagenen Menschheit im musikalischen Werk repräsentativ zu gestalten, kann nicht von dem unbefleckten Dulder vollbracht werden. Nur der Verfluchte kann den Fluch der Zeit in Töne fassen. Nur wer selbst in den Abgrund der Verlorenheit stürzt, kann – vielleicht – in seinen tiefsten Tiefen das Licht der Verheißung entdecken. Daraus erklärt sich, warum Thomas Mann der klaren Eindeutigkeit des Heiligen, wie er in Sigismund erscheint, das verwirrende und erschreckende Paradox des heiligen Sünders, des diabolischen Erlösers, des heillosen Heilands entgegenstellt, der in gottversuchendem Wagnis, in Faustischem Frevelmut seine eigene Verdammnis auf sich nimmt, um die schöpferische Kraft zu dem rettenden Werk zu gewinnen.¹³

Es geht uns im Folgenden nicht darum, an den fruchtlosen Spekulationen um die Verwerfung oder Begnadung Adrians durch die himmlische Gerechtigkeit teilzunehmen. Nichts darf uns von unserem eigentlichen Thema, der schöpferischen Leistung des Komponisten Leverkühn, ablenken. Wie ist sie möglich – in der Zeit des Endes, die zu künstlerischer Unfruchtbarkeit, zum Kulturtod, verurteilt scheint? Man weiß es: der Weg Adrians zum Werk führt durch die Hölle. Überwältigt durch das „tief geheimste Verlangen nach dämonischer Empfängnis“ (232), verbindet sich der hochmütig-einsame und doch von einem in-

neren Ungenügen an sich selbst verzehrte Geist mit seinem Gegenprinzip, dem nackten Trieb, der die furchtbar-zerstörerische Dämonie der Krankheit in sich aufgenommen hat. Das Ergebnis dieser schicksalhaften Begegnung der Extreme ist ein Kurzschluß zwischen der Kälte des Intellekts und dem Fieber des Rausches, der eine Grunderfahrung Thomas-Mannschen Künstlertums darstellt. Denn hier kehrt in apokalyptischer Steigerung jene unversöhnte Antithetik „zwischen eisiger Geistigkeit und verzehrender Sinnenglut“ wieder, unter der schon Tonio Kröger litt.¹⁴ In dem Jugend- wie in dem Alterswerk ist es der Mangel an Seele, der zu der un-menschlichen, der diabolischen Verkettung der Extreme im Künstler führt. Dementsprechend ist Adrians Kunst, die die Sterilität der Parodie überwindet, zunächst bestimmt durch das Ineinanderstürzen der Kontraste von Kalkulation und Ekstase, von Intellektualität und Primitivismus. Hier wird die Analogie zwischen Ästhetik und Politik der Endzeit deutlich sichtbar. Ebenso wie der totale Staat ist Adrians Musik auf dieser Stufe charakterisiert durch die Entfesselung der Barbarei im Rahmen totaler Organisation. Dieses selbstzerstörerische Bündnis des Geistes mit dem Archaischen bezeichnet für Thomas Mann das Wesen des Diabolischen. Vom Teufel als dem Herrn der Endzeit inspiriert, kann Adrians Musik in dem Oratorium „Apocalipsis cum figuris“ zur herzzermalmenden Beschwörung des Weltuntergangs werden, in der sich das Triumphgelächter der Hölle mit dem Geheul menschlicher Verzweiflung mischt. Der Tonschöpfer, der in seinem Schaffen die Nichtigkeit der Schöpfung verkündet, erscheint in der Tat als Instrument eines vom Haß gegen das Dasein erfüllten satanischen Nihilismus.

Und doch ist hier eine Frage aufzuwerfen, die Thomas Mann selbst gestellt hat: Ist Kunst, selbst eine Kunst des Endes, ganz ohne Liebe möglich? Beruht nicht noch die Selbstaufhebung des Werkes im Werk auf einer letzten und geheimsten Bejahung der Form, des Schöpfertums und eben damit der Liebe? Wäre es anders, wie könnte sich in dem musikalischen Inferno der „Apocalipsis“ jene mystische Transfiguration des Höllengelächters in den „so ganz und gar wundersamen Kinderchor“ (565) ereignen, die das tiefste Geheimnis der Musik, das Zusammenfallen der Kontraste in der großen, allumfassenden Identität, offenbart? Wie könnten hier sonst jene Gesangstellen aufleuchten, die „wie eine inständige Bitte um Seele“ (564) klingen? — Wer bittet hier? Der hochmütige, lieblose, verneinende Geist, der in der Vernichtung triumphiert? Oder der Mensch, der unter der Eisesglut der unverhöhnnten Extreme leidet? Es ist kein Zweifel, daß Adrian tief versteckt in den unzugänglichsten Gründen seines Wesens, die Sehnsucht nach Seele, nach Liebe, nach Menschlichkeit in sich trägt. Dieses Paradox der Liebe des zur Lieblosigkeit Verurteilten enthüllt sich schon in seiner Begegnung mit Hetaera Esmeralda und wird in seinem Werk durch das Leitmotiv der Klang-Chiffre h-e-a-e-es belegt. Es findet in der Echo-Episode seinen erschütterndsten Ausdruck. Und es ist eben dieses Paradox, das Adrian

mit anderen repräsentativen Gestalten Thomas Manns, und zuletzt mit dem Autor selbst, verbindet und ihn zum wahren Künstler macht. Denn worauf beruht wahres Künstlertum, wenn nicht auf der schöpferischen Vereinbarung des Unvereinbaren: der tödlichen Schärfe der Erkenntnis und der fruchtbaren Liebe zum Lebendigen? ¹⁵ Der Ort der Liebe ist die Seele. Die Seele aber ist für Thomas Mann eine mittlere, vermittelnde Instanz, „in der Geist und Trieb einander durchdringen“ (222). Daher kann sie den diabolischen Kurzschluß der Extreme lösen zugunsten einer Integration der menschlichen Grundkräfte (Geist – Seele – Trieb). Die Darstellung dieser Integration, sei es im Leben, sei es im Werk, ist für Thomas Mann der göttliche Auftrag des schöpferischen, genialen Menschen, daher wird sie in *Joseph und seine Brüder* das Geheimnis und die stille Hoffnung Gottes genannt (53).

Wenn in der nächsten (und letzten) Tonschöpfung Adrians, der Symphonischen Kantate „Dr. Fausti Weheklag“, das Gebet um Seele erhört wird, wenn hier aus den glühenden Konstruktionen seiner Musik der Funke des Gefühls hervorspringt, so ist damit die höchste Mission des Künstlers der Endzeit, die Befreiung des Subjektiven aus dem Bann absoluter Gesetzlichkeit, vollbracht. Die fatale Verkettung von moderner Kunst und moderner Diktatur wird auf dieser höchsten Entwicklungsstufe Adrians gesprengt. Aus äußerster, selbstverhängter Gebundenheit erhebt sich die expressive Freiheit des schöpferischen Individuums. Das bedeutet nichts anderes als die Rettung der Kunst vor den zwei Gefahren, die sie in der Endzeit bedrohen: der Sterilität der Parodie und der Barbarei überintellektualisierter Primitivität. Der „Durchbruch“, von dem Adrian so oft spricht, „aus geistiger Kälte in eine Wagniswelt neuen Gefühls“ (482) – hier wird er Ereignis. Ist also nicht er selbst der „Erlöser der Kunst“, den er in den Gesprächen mit dem Erzähler antizipiert?

Mit dem Durchbruch des Gefühls in Adrians letztem Werk ereignet sich zugleich eine entscheidende Verwandlung seiner Musik. War die „Apocalipsis“ noch bestimmt durch den diabolischen Kurzschluß zwischen der Kälte des Intellekts und dem Fieber des Rausches, so ist die „Weheklag“ Ausdruck der gottgewollten menschlichen Ganzheit. Der Künstler, der in der diabolischen Zeit des Endes das göltige Menschenbild beschwört, wird nicht nur zum Retter der Kunst sondern auch zum Anwalt des Humanen. Sein Werk schlägt die Brücke zwischen seiner unmenschlichen Einsamkeit und dem Menschentum. Der Durchbruch des Gefühls im Werk macht das Werk selbst zu einer epochalen Leistung: Hier durchbricht die Kunst den Bannkreis einer tödlichen Esoterik, hier bricht sie durch ins Menschliche. Gewiß, was hier geschaffen wird, ist noch nicht die Kunst der Zukunft, wie sie Adrian in seiner Vision sieht, jene „Kunst ohne Leiden, seelisch gesund, unfeierlich, untraurig-zutraulich“ (483). Und doch ist auch diese Musik „mit der Menschheit auf du und du“, wenn auch nur als wahrhafter Ausdruck des gemeinsamen Leidens und der gemeinsamen Schuld. Mit dem Monstre-Werk der Klage

um das Schicksal des Menschen, mit der Ode an die Trauer, die die Neunte Symphonie „zurücknimmt,“ wird der weltlose Künstler zur repräsentativen Stimme der Welt. Wieder, wie am Schluß von *Turm II*, ereignet sich der Umschlag aus der Einsamkeit des Geistes in die Universalität des Schmerzes, die einzige Form menschlicher Gemeinschaft nach dem Zerfall der sozialen Lebensformen. Zugleich mit der Stimme des Menschen aber wird die Stimme Gottes wiedergewonnen. Im Werk des Verfluchten wird die Gottesklage laut (731). Inspiriert vom Teufel, bricht diese Musik den Bann des Teuflichen und stellt den Kontakt mit dem Göttlichen wieder her. Nur darum kann die Religiosität der Verzweiflung in eine Religiosität der Hoffnung jenseits der Hoffnungslosigkeit umschlagen. Nur darum kann der letzte Ton, der Ausklang der Trauer, seinen Sinn wandeln und stehn „als ein Licht in der Nacht“ (732).

Ist das letzte Werk Adrians also erschöpfend charakterisiert als Zurücknahme der Neunten Symphonie? Ist es nicht zugleich – oder vielmehr zuletzt – das äußerste Wagnis einer Zurücknahme der Zurücknahme? Und erklärt sich nicht erst daraus die jubilante, die „höchst sieghafte Bewandnis“ (723), die es nach den Worten des Erzählers mit diesem *De profundis* hat? Die Verheißung eines neuen Menschheitstages jenseits der Nacht, die sich Hofmannsthal so streng verweigerte, – in Thomas Manns Klagewerk wagt sie sich hervor. Sie stützt sich auf ein letztes, allen Zweifeln und Verzweiflungen abgerungenes Vertrauen auf den schaffenden Menschen, dem durch göttliche Gnade die Wundergabe schöpferischer Verwandlung gegeben ist und der durch seinen Opfertod am Kreuz der Zeit die Kraft gewinnt, die Macht des Fluches zu brechen.

Die künstlerische Tat Adrians hebt jedoch keineswegs seine moralische Schuld auf. Seine letzte Ansprache vor dem Sturz in den Wahnsinn steht denn auch ganz im Zeichen der Selbstbeichtigung. Er beschuldigt sich des Hochmuts, der höllischen Trunkenheit, der Unzucht und des Mordes (743 ff.). Er bleibt also bis zu seinem Tode der heilige *Sünder* und verkörpert damit den paradoxen Typ des Künstlers, den „Vertrauten der Hölle,“ den Thomas Mann in Dostojewski und Nietzsche erkennt und den „Göttlichen und Gesegneten,“¹⁶ Goethe und Tolstoi, entgegenstellt. Das Schuldbekenntnis schließt somit jede einseitige Glorifizierung Adrians aus. Man hat seine Gestalt daher mit Recht als erschütternde Selbstanklage des Verfassers gedeutet. Wie aber läßt sich damit das bestürzende Geständnis Thomas Manns aus dem Dostojewski-Aufsatz vereinbaren: „meine Ehrfurcht vor den Vertrauten der Hölle . . . ist im Grunde weit tiefer . . . als die vor den Söhnen des Lichts“ (NS, 77)? Sollte es nicht zu dem Wesen des an Paradoxien und dialektischen Umschlägen so reichen Faustuswerkes gehören, daß sich in der Selbstverneinung eine letzte Selbstbejahung des schaffenden Künstlers verbirgt, die das Schuldbekenntnis mit einschließt?

Thomas Manns Ehrfurcht und seine Scheu, „eine tiefe, mystische, zum Schweigen anhaltende Scheu,“ gilt „der religiösen Größe der Ver-

fluchten," in denen „der Heilige und der Verbrecher Eines werden“ (NS, 76 f.). In dieser paradoxen Formulierung darf der Verbrecher heilig genannt werden um des Übermaßes an Leiden willen, das er im Dienst der Menschheit auf sich nimmt. Das Leitmotiv der Menschenliebe, das in *Die Hungernden* und *Tonio Kröger* einsetzt und sich durch das Werk Thomas Manns hinzieht, erscheint hier in einer aufs äußerste zugespitzten Form: Die fluch- und schuldbeladenen Künstler sind zugleich „Gekreuzigte und Opfer," die „der Menschheit und ihrer Erhöhung . . . dargebracht“ (NS, 91) werden. Als „Schauspiel einer erschütternden Selbstkreuzigung“¹⁷ bezeichnet Thomas Mann das Schicksal Nietzsches. Das gleiche Schauspiel bietet er uns in *Doktor Faustus*. Aber Adrian wird nicht nur mit Nietzsche sondern auch mit Christus in Beziehung gesetzt. Seine Gesichtszüge und seine Kopfhaltung haben für den Erzähler etwas „Christushaftes“ (720). Die Faustuskantate wird als „Klage von schmerzhaftester Ecce-homo-Gebärde“ (723) bezeichnet, die gewisse Motive der Leidensgeschichte abwandelt (730).

All dies hat nur einen Sinn, wenn das Paradox des heiligen Sünders, des auserwählten Verfluchten, das Thomas Mann in der Judagestalt des Josephromans vorweggenommen hat, als Formel für Adrians Wesen ernst genommen wird. Es ist nach unserer Auffassung eine unerlaubte Vereinfachung des sehr komplexen Tatbestandes, den Vorgang des Faustusromans als „catastrophe of the human soul, the representative victim of which is Adrian Leverkühn“¹⁸ zu bezeichnen. Das Gesetz des dialektischen Umschlags aus dem Negativen ins Positive gilt auch in diesem Zusammenhang. Nicht nur die Krankheit, auch die Schuld wird in dem schöpferischen Menschen produktiv, ohne allerdings dadurch moralisch gerechtfertigt zu sein. In der Auffassung des Bösen als einer Kraft, die doch zuletzt das Gute schafft, in der Darstellung des Zerstörerischen als einer Funktion des Schöpferischen, in der Verehrung der alle dialektischen Gegensätze umfassenden göttlichen Einheit des Daseins ist Thomas Manns Faustusroman dem *Faust* Goethes verwandter, als es auf den ersten Blick scheinen mag.¹⁹ Noch in diesem Grenzfall des europäischen Romans gilt das Goethesche „Stirb und Werde," Grundgesetz aller schöpferischen Verwandlung, wenn auch nur in dem Sinne, daß der Schöpfer sich opfern muß, um das Werk zu schaffen. Wer freilich, wie Erich Heller, Thomas Manns *Doktor Faustus* als „the ‚unwriting‘ of Goethe's“ (IG, 273) interpretiert, wird den Schluß des Werkes nur als eindeutigen Triumph des allmächtigen Teufels über den rettungslos verfallenen Menschen sehen können. Allerdings wird er dann zu der Schlußfolgerung gezwungen sein, daß auch die Seele, die aus Adrians letztem Werk spricht, teuflischer Natur sei. In der Tat schreckt Heller nicht vor der grotesken Konzeption einer teuflischen Seele zurück: „The Devil has done his work and granted a soul“ (IG, 275).

Wie man sich erinnert, ist es eine Bedingung des Teufelspaktes, daß Adrian nicht lieben dürfe. Der zwischen den Extremen von Geist und Trieb vermittelnde Bereich des Gefühls soll ihm verschlossen bleiben,

weil das Diabolische von der Macht der liebenden Seele überwunden werden kann. Nach unserer Auffassung tritt gerade dies trotz aller Paktbedingungen in Adrians letztem Werk ein. Dieses Werk der Klage um den Menschen setzt die Liebe zum Menschen voraus. Die Stimme der Liebe aber kann nie und nimmer die Stimme des Teufels sein. Hier spricht vielmehr der tragische Genius, der seinen geheimen Auftrag von oben trotz (oder vielleicht gerade wegen) seiner Verstrickung mit den unteren Gewalten erfüllt hat. Seine Schuld und seine Größe, seine Verfallenheit und seine Freiheit, seine Verzweiflung und seine Hoffnung machen ihn zum Sinnbild tragischen Menschentums überhaupt. Trotz aller apokalyptischen Düsternis steht also auch noch der Faustusroman im Zeichen jenes Dritten Humanismus, den der reife Thomas Mann immer wieder verkündet hat. Auch für ihn selbst gilt, was er über Dostojewski sagt: Alles Antihumane, Dämonische und Diabolische dient zuletzt der Erringung einer „durch alle Höllen des Leidens und der Erkenntnis hindurchgegangenen Humanität“ (NS, 101). Darum kann Adrian in der großen Abschiedsszene die Selbstanklage des Sünders mit der Hoffnung des Schöpfers auf die höchste Bestätigung des in Schuld und Qual erschaffenen Werkes verbinden: „vielleicht kann gut sein aus Gnade, was in Schlechtigkeit geschaffen wurde“ (748).

Dieser Satz ist geprägt von einem religiösen Gefühl, das, so zaghaft es sich auch hervorwagen mag, doch den Protagonisten mit dem Autor verbindet. Es ist die Hoffnung des schaffenden Menschen, der sich als moralisch schuldig erkennt und zugleich um die schöpferische Funktion des Bösen weiß, auf die Begnadung durch den göttlichen Schöpfergeist, der mit den Kontrasten des Daseins auch den Gegensatz von Gut und Böse umfaßt.

¹ Eine kürzere Fassung dieses Aufsatzes wurde im Dezember 1958 bei der Jahresversammlung der MLA in New York vor der Deutschen Sektion verlesen.

² Carl J. Burckhardt, *Erinnerungen an Hofmannsthal und Briefe des Dichters* (Klosterberg / Basel, 1943), S. 40.

³ Thomas Mann, „In memoriam Hugo von Hofmannsthal,“ in *Altes und Neues* (Frankfurt am Main, 1953), 193-198.

⁴ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, „Ad me ipsum,“ in *Die Neue Rundschau*, LXV (1954), 358-382.

⁵ Thomas Mann, *Der Zauberberg*, 2. Bd. (Berlin, 1925), S. 258.

⁶ Dieser repräsentative Charakter des Helden bleibt auch dann gewahrt, wenn er nicht als aktiver Künstler dargestellt ist. Sigismund ist gewiß kein verseschreibender Dichter, aber er gehört trotzdem zu den königlichen Gestalten in Hofmannsthal's Werk, die in dem magischen Reich der Innerlichkeit (hier symbolisiert durch den Turm) beheimatet sind und wesentliche Aspekte des dichterischen Geistes verkörpern. Daher haben sie auch den gleichen Auftrag, den Hofmannsthal in seinen Essays dem Dichter zuweist: die Harmonisierung der Welt. Dies erlaubt uns, Sigismund mit dem aktiven Künstler Adrian in Beziehung zu setzen. In Thomas Mann's Werk liegen die Dinge ähnlich. Auch Joseph ist kein Künstler von Beruf, und dennoch steht er, der Träumer und Geschichtenerzähler, der den Weg zur Tat findet und mit dem doppelten Segen gesegnet ist, in einem engen Verwandtschaftsverhältnis mit dem Genius Goethes in *Lotte in Weimar*.

⁷ Beide Fassungen von Hofmannsthal's Trauerspiel *Der Turm* sind in dem Band *Dramen IV* (Frankfurt am Main, 1958) der von Herbert Steiner betreuten *Gesammelten Werke in Einzelausgaben* abgedruckt.

⁸ Vgl. den vierten Teil von Thomas Manns Roman *Joseph und seine Brüder*, jetzt in *Stockholmer Gesamtausgabe*, 1952 (2 Bde.).

⁹ Carl J. Burckhardt, „Begegnungen mit Hugo von Hofmannsthal,“ in *Die Neue Rundschau*, LXV (1954), S. 356.

¹⁰ Thomas Mann, *Doktor Faustus: Das Leben des deutschen Tonsetzers Adrian Leverkühn erzählt von einem Freunde*, *Stockholmer Gesamtausgabe*, 1951, S. 674. Die folgenden Zitate mit Seitenzahlen in Klammern.

¹¹ *Dramen IV*, S. 455. Die angeführten Zitate kommen bereits in der ersten Fassung des *Turm* vor, erhalten aber erst in der zweiten Fassung ihre volle Bedeutung.

¹² Hugo von Hofmannsthal, „Das Schrifttum als geistiger Raum der Nation,“ in *Prosa IV* (Frankfurt am Main, 1955), S. 412.

¹³ Vgl. dazu meinen Aufsatz „Return to Health? ‚Disease‘ in Mann's *Doctor Faustus*,“ *PMLA*, LXV (1950), 21-26, der Adrian zu rechtfertigen versucht, ohne daß jedoch die Bedeutung seines Werkes voll erkannt wird.

¹⁴ Thomas Mann, *Tonio Kröger*, in *Gesammelte Werke, Novellen*, 2. Bd. (Berlin, 1925), S. 28.

¹⁵ Diese Liebe ist für Thomas Mann als Gegenkraft gegen den kritischen Intellekt von höchster Bedeutung. Sie stellt nicht etwa nur ein menschliches Bedürfnis des Künstlers dar, sondern ist ein konstitutives Element seines Künstlerturns. Sie unterscheidet den echten Dichter von dem Literaten. Daher kann Thomas Mann Tonio Kröger sagen lassen: „Denn wenn irgend etwas imstande ist, aus einem Literaten einen Dichter zu machen, so ist es diese meine Bürgerliebe zum Menschlichen, Lebendigen und Gewöhnlichen. Alle Wärme, alle Güte, aller Humor kommt aus ihr . . .“ Wenn Tonio Kröger (und das heißt doch wohl hier: Thomas Mann) die Liebe zum Leben als „gut und fruchtbar“ (*Novellen II*, 87 f.) bezeichnet, so wird damit ihre schöpferische Kraft besonders betont.

¹⁶ Thomas Mann, „Dostojewski – mit Maaßen,“ in *Neue Studien* (Stockholm, 1948), S. 76. Zitiert unter NS.

¹⁷ Thomas Mann, „Nietzsches Philosophie im Lichte unserer Erfahrung,“ in *Neue Studien*, S. 113.

¹⁸ Erich Heller, *The Ironic German: A Study of Thomas Mann* (Boston / Toronto, 1958), S. 273. Zitiert unter IG.

¹⁹ Vgl. dazu das Kapitel „Goethe-‚Nachfolge‘“ in Thomas Lessers Buch *Thomas Mann in der Epoche seiner Vollendung* (München, 1952) und das Kapitel „Imitatio Goethe“ in Fritz Kaufmanns Werk *Thomas Mann: The Word as Will and Representation*, Beacon Press (Boston, 1957), dem ich auch in meiner Auffassung Adrians verpflichtet bin. Die beste Gesamtdarstellung der Beziehungen zwischen Thomas Mann und Goethe findet sich in Bernhard Blumes Buch *Thomas Mann und Goethe* (Bern, 1949).



MORAL PURPOSE IN KLOPSTOCK

SVEN V. LANGSJOEN

Gustavus Adolphus College

As is generally known, the gradual but steady weakening of Klopstock's command over the eighteenth century German literary scene ran parallel to the rising significance of Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller. Also well known are most of the pronouncements which Klopstock's "successors" expressed concerning him. Best known, perhaps, are those with negative force. Lessing's epigram, for instance, still continues to evoke a chuckle while affording a reason for not reading Klopstock: "Wer wird nicht einen Klopstock loben? / Doch wird ihn jeder lesen? — Nein! / Wir wollen weniger erhaben, / Und fleißiger gelesen sein." In *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, Schiller stresses one of Klopstock's most salient characteristics. "Man möchte sagen," he writes, "er ziehe allem, was er behandelt, den Körper aus, um es zu Geist zu machen, so wie andre Dichter alles Geistige mit einem Körper bekleiden." After a few more observations with the same point of focus, he deals a heavy blow to past and future Klopstock enthusiasts: "Ich bekenne daher unverhohlen, daß mir für den Kopf desjenigen etwas bange ist, der wirklich und ohne Affektation diesen Dichter zu seinem Lieblingsbuche machen kann, zu einem Buche nämlich, bei dem man zu jeder Lage sich stimmen, zu dem man aus jeder Lage zurückkehren kann; auch, dünkte ich, hätte man in Deutschland Früchte genug von seiner gefährlichen Herrschaft gesehen." Goethe's numerous remarks about Klopstock in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* are consistent in their praise of Klopstock the poet; as a whole, however, they reveal the conclusion that Klopstock's significance is a matter of past history.

This outline of Klopstock's reception by his three greatest contemporaries is of course incomplete and invites considerable comment. One might point out, for example, that Lessing's epigrammatic condonement of an observed tendency is the clever product of a mood and that it does not represent, despite the element of truth expressed, his considered evaluation of Klopstock; as Muncker informs us in *Lessings persönliches und literarisches Verhältnis zu Klopstock*, Lessing regarded — until the end of his life — Klopstock as his greatest German contemporary, even greater than Goethe (pp. 201-202).

But such argumentation, however interesting because of the stature of the poets involved, would prove nothing concerning the question of Klopstock's permanent significance. Indeed, to do nothing more than assert lasting greatness for Klopstock on the basis of certain appraisals made by other poets would be about as meritorious as dismissing him into the realm of "historical significance" on the strength of negative criticisms voiced by the creative masters. This is not to say that such a verdict may not prevail in the end. But such a decision presupposes

a full, or nearly full, understanding of Klopstock's works. And we still don't understand Klopstock as well as we might. Accordingly, the present essay aims to discuss one of the main areas which, in my opinion, need further clarification.

To begin with a restatement of Schiller's accurate insight, Klopstock does reduce all that he treats poetically to spirit. The absence of concrete outline and detail from his works is so nearly absolute that one may read the entire *Messias* without being able to imagine the distinctive appearance of any of the countless characters.

A common but erroneous reaction is to conclude, as Muncker does in his biography (p. 87), that Klopstock was incapable of representing the visual. The absence of this or that from a poet's works can never prove an incapacity on the part of the poet. Patently unsuccessful attempts may justify such a conclusion; but Klopstock never attempts to satisfy the eye.

What we are faced, or not faced, with here is the result of conscious purpose. Indeed, a pre-condition for understanding Klopstock is to realize, along with Köster, that we are dealing with *gewollte Unanschaulichkeit*.¹ But what is the basic reason underlying this intent? It is not, as Köster explains, a desire to preserve the sanctity of the *Messias* (Köster refers only to the *Messias* in support of his assertion). Rather, the basic reason lies in Klopstock's pronounced and ever abiding moral purposiveness, a phenomenon unrecognized by the majority of critics, including Köster. Further, the oversight is not confined to Klopstock's works; it extends to eighteenth century German Sentimental literature in general. Apparently endorsing a far too rigid conception of the "feeling-reason" dichotomy applied to outstanding features of Sentimental and Rationalistic literature respectively, most scholars fail to see the moral purpose permeating the former. Moral purpose is characteristic of the *Aufklärung*; therefore, the thinking would seem to proceed, it cannot be characteristic of Sentimentality, which is "antithetical" to the former.

In some cases such thinking possibly proceeds on the sub-conscious level. In others, it is obviously a matter of conscious reasoning. A telling case in point is afforded by J. Schmidt, who repeatedly refers to the moral purposiveness of eighteenth century German Biblical dramas written under the aegis of the *Aufklärung*, while denying all purpose to Sentimental works of this genre:

Das Drama [der Empfindsamkeit] will nur einen biblischen Vorgang vermitteln, ohne einen Zweck zu verfolgen und rechnet dabei auf das empfindsam-empfindliche Gemüt des Hörers oder Lesers.²

Daß Klopstock mit seinen dramatischen Dichtungen vom klassizistischen Vorbild der Franzosen loszukommen suchte, scheint zwar für eine gewisse Zielstrebigkeit zu sprechen. In ihrer Grundauffassung aber sind seine Bibeldramen, in erster Linie das Trauerspiel „Der Tod Adams," aus dem Geist jener empfindsamen Welt zu

verstehen, auf die die Engländer Young, Rowe, Gray maßgebenden Einfluß hatten.³

One of the aims of my doctoral dissertation,⁴ which analyses various aspects of Klopstock's Sentimentality against the background of the prevalent views on Sentimentality in general, was to clarify this issue, to substantiate the idea that Sentimentality is a moral-emotional phenomenon, not merely an emotional one, not simply a matter of emotional excessiveness (*Gefühlsüberschwang*).

Viewed in the light of this idea, Klopstock's "intentional intangibility" is seen to be a manifestation of his desire to present in unobscured form his Sentimental ethos – which derives its essence from the conscious association of virtue and vice with feelings. In other words, the absence of concrete outline and detail can be attributed to the exclusive nature of his moral purposiveness.

Dualistic in structure, Klopstock's ethical thinking (Langsjoen, pp. 16-45) considers virtue to consist basically in spiritual love and all related tender emotions: friendship (identical to spiritual love), sympathy, melancholy longing, loneliness, elegiac distress, loving anticipation, and reminiscent nostalgia. If Klopstock had formulated his conception of virtue as explicitly as the young Lessing, who boldly proclaimed in 1756: "Der mitleidigste Mensch ist der beste Mensch" (letter of November, 1756, to Nicolai),⁵ he might well have said: the best human being is the one with the greatest capacity for love and all tender affections emanating from a heart filled with love, the difference being that love is the central emotion in Klopstock's conception of virtue whereas sympathy constitutes the root of all virtue for the young Lessing. On the other hand, Klopstock consciously associates evil with the so-called violent emotions (in the language of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, those "base, ungentele passions") of hate, jealousy, wrath, vengeance, greed, and the concomitant absence of their counterparts in virtue.

It is true that one does not encounter a direct expression of this dualism in Klopstock's subjective odes. With extremely few exceptions, they quite naturally dwell upon the good, the virtuous emotions. His moralistic intent, however, is clearly evident in his exaltation of love-friendship and in the very texture of his hymnic praise, which parades in unweakening review the German equivalents of love, friendship, loneliness, longing, melancholy, sympathy; all of these and related words are able to serve as the highest epithets of praise; because all of them attest to a heart with a capacity for love.

In the *Messias* (also in the Biblical dramas), on the other hand, the dualistic, black-white scheme of Klopstock's ethical disposition is clearly manifested through the juxtaposed characterization of Satanic forces and those which reflect the features of the "noble few." As for the character of the Germanic forefathers in the *Bardiete*, one can only endorse the words of Muncker, whose biography is still the best book about Klop-

stock: "Alles in allem genommen, bildet ihr Charakter eine ungesunde und unnatürliche Mischung aus naiven und sentimental Elementen; sie sind ein Zwitter von rohem Urvolk und modernem Kulturvolk" (p. 396; written in specific reference to *Hermanns Schlacht*).

To turn to a related phenomenon, Klopstock's works as a body are further characterized by the virtually complete exclusion of problematics. The few exceptions one might wish to cite are either unreal or minor in the sense that they do not assume a central position in the works concerned. The question of Abbadona's ultimate salvation or damnation, which did cause numerous contemporary readers of the *Messias* deep concern, is not a real exception to the given generalization. First of all, it is highly doubtful that Klopstock himself was ever uncertain about the broad outlines of Abbadona's destiny.⁶ Directly pertinent and irrefutable, the *Messias* does not present an Abbadona problem. Completely forlorn, filled with remorse, and what is equally significant, endowed with a model capacity for virtuous emotion, Abbadona appears from the beginning as an example of "suffering virtue" (his apostasy lies far in the lamentable past), fully deserving of a Sentimental reader's generous sympathy and the salvation which is his final reward.

The Semida-Cidli episode does not offer a problem either. Cidli and Semida have both arisen from the dead. Thus her mother has prescribed abstinence from physical union. Cidli's obedience to the "Weisheit der liebenden Mutter" and "der Stimme Gottes in ihr" clearly receives priority — even in Cidli's mind — over her deep love of Semida (canto IV, lines 757-762); and Semida's protestations of love, loneliness, and melancholy longing are in harmonious accord with the laws governing a Sentimental heart. It is a forced situation, indeed, but not a situation entailing difficult decision or uncertainty. The episode tells of two lovers' exemplary behavior — which serves as a fitting prelude to their glorious reunion (XV, 1527-1549).

There is also, to cite just one more example, the question posed in "Die Frühlingsfeier":

Aber du, Frühlingswürmchen,
Das grünlichgolden neben mir spielt,
Du lebst; und bist vielleicht
Ach nicht unsterblich! (DNL, vol. 47; lines 21-24)

This is a serious metaphysical problem, consciously posed, meant to be shared by the reader. The image is especially well chosen, accentuating the cosmic sweep of an effective contrast in one of Klopstock's greatest odes. And it is fair conjecture, I think, that one reason this ode continues to appeal to modern readers is that it actually presents a problem, or if you wish, an expression of uncertainty.

Consciously or unconsciously, many twentieth-century readers of Klopstock probably search for more of the same. Since the concept of love is central in Klopstock's thinking, one might expect to find some

variation of the potential spiritual versus sensual love problem. But Klopstock does not reward such a quest either. As a person, he did not share the Pietists' derogatory view of sensual love; he experienced no tension between Eros and Agape.⁷ And his essential poetic nature precluded the literary representation of even this problem (it plays no role at all in the Semida-Cidli episode; perhaps this is why the situation of separation appears so forced). For Klopstock was an *Erlebnisdichter* at least to the extent that he could not write what he did not feel; least of all could he proceed from an abstract idea with no deep roots in his own experience.

Klopstock's great *Erlebnis* was rethinking the great thought of creation: love. Indeed, if one reads the first strophe of "Der Zürchersee" with the understanding that the words "... den großen Gedanken / Deiner Schöpfung . . ." refer to "love," this much-discussed ode will become more meaningful, I think. He was always guided by his experience that love is the essence of the Godhead, that love is the spring of all virtue; and this combined with a second constant, the moral purposiveness of his poetic mission, to form the immovable foundation of his Sentimental orientation.

¹ Albert Köster, *Die deutsche Literatur der Aufklärungszeit* (Heidelberg, 1925), pp. 122-123.

² J. Schmidt, *Studien zum Bibeldrama der Empfindsamkeit* (diss. Breslau, 1933), p. 118.

³ J. Schmidt, *Bibeldrama*, p. 27. Cf. pp. 111-112, 114, 116.

⁴ S. V. Langsjoen, "Aspects of Klopstock's Sentimentality" (diss. Wisc., 1957).

⁵ For a comprehensive analysis of Lessing's major works with special consideration of Lessing's Sentimentality, see E. L. Norwood's study: "Lessing and Sentimentalism" (diss. Wisc., 1958).

⁶ Compare: a) R. Hamel's treatment of the matter in *Klopstock-Studien*, 3. Heft (Rostock, 1880), pp. 141-203; b) Langsjoen, "Aspects," pp. 47-49.

⁷ Paul Kluckhohn, *Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts und in der deutschen Romantik* (Halle a. S., 1922), pp. 139-140, 179. See also Langsjoen, "Aspects," pp. 19-22.



CARL ZUCKMAYER'S THEORY OF AESTHETICS¹

HENRY GLADE
Manchester College

Carl Zuckmayer, recognized as one of the foremost German dramatists today, has yet other accomplishments to his credit. Among these, of course, are his poetry and fiction; but it is not often realized that he has created a considerable body of theory. His major publications in this area include *Pro Domo*, *Die Brüder Grimm*, and *Die langen Wege*.² It is to them and to his two articles "Jugend und Theater" and "Notizen zur Situation des Dramas"³ that this investigation will give particular attention.

At the outset, it is well to realize that Zuckmayer has not provided a particularly orderly formulation of his ideas in a familiar didactic pattern, as an author with a more philosophic turn of mind might have done. Indeed, an effective grasp of his conceptions presupposes a knowledge of his reactions to the changing pattern of his life together with the first, more implicit statement of these reactions in his dramas. The subsequent generalizations in his theory are always descriptive of the conflicts and possible reconciliations in everyday living; they can hardly be called the analytical insights of a reflective mind.

Thus, the evolving core of Zuckmayer's aesthetics is revealed in the particular spirit of his dramatic works in each successive phase of his literary creativity. Consequently, his aesthetic formulations at any given stage provide an analysis of the dramas he wrote in that period — if due allowance is made for discrepancies between obvious intent and actual execution. If his aesthetics is assessed on its intrinsic merits, as is the primary purpose of this study, it can be designated, in briefest fashion, as a pantheistic credo in which the eros force plays the key role. Significantly enough, the emphasis on critical speculations is the result of his post-war literary self-consciousness along with his genuine concern for the moral welfare of men. The effusiveness of his expositions tends, however, to vitiate the message. Certainly in his theorizing he is no match for his great antipodal contemporary, the late Brecht, who evolved a disciplined and cogent aesthetics.

Any individual's aesthetics is necessarily grounded in his *Weltanschauung*, which, in turn, is conditioned to a considerable extent by the interactions of his personality with the developing environmental opportunities and pressures. Zuckmayer's world-view has its roots in the man-and-animal-loving world of the Rhine-Hessian, and it can be characterized further as a robust and joyful affirmation of life and a feeling of innate oneness with nature. His mode of thinking is instinctive, imaginative, and impulsively spontaneous. Hence his philosophizing tends to take form through intuitive and imaginative concepts. He is apt to cast these into the mold of poetic images, taken primarily from nature and the animal world.

The propelling force of Zuckmayer's creativity has been an intense dramatic instinct that became manifest at a very early age and has continued ever since (*Pro Domo*, p. 68). Thus the discussion in *Die langen Wege*, as a convenient example, is punctuated continuously by fresh incidents and dramatic interludes.

As might be expected then, Zuckmayer tends to disparage intellectual approaches and clever analyses, and he especially dislikes the over-intellectualized dissections that lead to no humanitarian solution.⁴ In place of intellect, which is almost a bad word in Zuckmayer's book of values, he extols the virtues of man's imaginative powers, based upon a nature-life synthesis. Zuckmayer encounters nature-life on his long walks which are undertaken without any definite goals (*Die langen Wege*, p. 29). Whether or not he is rationalizing a deep-seated love for extensive exercise of this sort, the attendant process of "Geh-Denken" (p. 13) has, in point of fact, become with him a necessity for creative productivity.

This "Geh-Denken" process based on the nature-life equation, is, epistemologically, an experience of nature as life in its totality. For, to Zuckmayer, there is no such thing as a simple contemplation ("keine 'reine' Anschauung") but rather a "persönliche, leidenschaftliche Teilnahme, ein gegenseitiges Verhältnis des Besitzens und Besessenseins" (p. 52). Displayed here is Zuckmayer's ever-present striving for a recognition, in the panerotic and mystical sense, of an ultimate reality which exists primarily in the symbiotic relationship of man with nature, its processes of growth and its animal world.⁵ The perennial dualism of intellect and nature is thus reduced to a monistic reconciliation, and, in the final analysis, this is achieved through the power of the natural eros. This eros or the instinctive drive for unitary experience of the life-force *per se* constitutes the very core of Zuckmayer's philosophy of nature. He perceives this nature as free of any exotic or impressionistic ornament. His is a rustic, biologically realistic, quasi-mystic, and dramatically gripping view of nature. In his own words: "Es kam . . . nicht . . . auf das 'Schöne,' im Sinn einer ästhetischen Auswahl, an, sondern auf die tiefere, heftigere, nacktere Schönheit des gesamten Lebensvorgangs, einschließlich seiner Gewalttätigkeit, seines Zerfalls und seines Grauens."⁶

Thus it may be said that Zuckmayer's thought has its primary source in his deep-souled attunement with the forces of nature — his *Urerlebnis*. Consequently, his view of life is characterized by a continuing attempt to make his conceptualization of nature-love central to his theory. Zuckmayer's aesthetics becomes most explicit during his latest period of creative effort, as he seeks to justify his life and destiny through his efforts to bring more effective meaning to the contemporary situation.

As stated earlier, Zuckmayer consistently tends to deduce his aesthetics from the prevalent tenor of his works. Therefore, it is best analyzed in line with the unfolding pattern of his creative development. As seen by Zuckmayer himself, there are two major periods of literary creativity.

The first or spontaneous period, extending from 1925-1932 (or from *Der fröhliche Weinberg* to *Der Hauptmann von Köpenick*), can be classified as realistic-folklore. Logically, this period yields no theoretical treatises. The second, or deliberate, period from 1933 to the present can be subdivided into an initial phase from 1933-1939 (or from *Der Schelm von Bergen* to *Herr über Leben und Tod*) which is characterized by the interpenetration of realistic and metaphysical elements, and a later phase, 1940 to the present (or from *Des Teufels General* to *Das kalte Licht*) in which the vexing socio-political problems of the present day are drawn upon for subject matter and in which Zuckmayer tends toward a more complex orientation involving realistic, metaphysical and symbolical elements.

The essay *Pro Domo* (1938), the only theoretical work from the 1933-39 phase, presents among other things Zuckmayer's first exposition of aesthetic theory. The fusion of realistic and metaphysical elements that has already been mentioned as a distinguishing literary characteristic of this phase is reflected in the major premise of his aesthetics, that is, the espousal of a metaphysical theater which is deeply anchored in the vital forces of all life: "Die Schaubühne ist eine metaphysische Anstalt, mehr noch als eine moralische, und um das zu sein und zu bleiben, muß sie bis in alle Fasern von vitaler Wirklichkeit, vom leibhaften Eros, von allen Essenzen des Menschenlebens, durchtränkt werden." (pp. 78-79)

The essence of this credo is derived from Zuckmayer's pantheistic outlook, or more specifically from the drive to conceptualize an innate and deeply ingrained eros that becomes evident during this phase. It is revealed here in its nature-art parallelisms, or the superimposition, whether witting or unwitting, of the nature philosophy on his aesthetics. Here Zuckmayer's presumed belief in nature as protean and incommensurable leads him to establish a rationale of character delineation in which logical motivation constitutes the least important factor.⁷ His philosophy thus grounded in an equation of nature and human nature,⁸ Zuckmayer argues that all human actions have their source in the subconscious recesses, "den Quellen der tieferen Wirklichkeit" (p. 82).

The depiction of this "deeper reality" *per se* constitutes the most important aspect of Zuckmayer's theory of aesthetics at this time. It is a reality which remains as inscrutable and inexorable as life or nature itself, and this very fact, to Zuckmayer, gives an intimation of the true essence of life. This, in turn, provides a link with the divine which is symbolized by beauty in the non-aesthetic sense in which the term was previously defined:

So tut sich im Wandelbaren und Motivlosen der menschlichen Natur, im Sprunghaften und Antilogischen ihrer Handlungen, im blindlings Getriebenen, Unkorrekten, bewußtlos Wallenden und Strömenden, kurz: im Lebendigen, — in der Stärke, Gewalt und Unerbittlichkeit des Lebens, — jener Wahrsinn dar, den wir aus Ahnungs- und Traumgründen her als den göttlichen, — jene Schönheit, die wir als heim-

liches Maß aller Dinge, als die himmlische und urewige, in uns tragen — und die wir im gottversuchenden, im luziferischen Drange des künstlerischen Schöpferwillens, auf die Erde herabzwingen. (p. 84)

Thus the task of a writer becomes just this wresting of "the secret measure of all things" from life by overcoming the basic dualism productively through a recreating or exorcising of life. In this, Zuckmayer's powerful eros drive is ever striving for a unitary realization of all existence.

. . . es handelt sich um . . . die nachformende Bannung des Lebens, der Schöpfung, ihrer Zwiespälte und ihrer heimlich bindenden und lösenden Gewalt, um die Darstellung unserer metaphysischen Bestimmtheit, ihres Grauens und ihrer Gnade, — um die produktive Überwindung des Chaos, der Zerspaltenheit, der Moira, der Ananke, der dunklen Sphynx-Sprüche unseres Schicksals. (p. 76)

To recapitulate, Zuckmayer's theory of aesthetics at this time resolves itself into a very definite proposition. The artist's highest task is to make of art a reflection of nature-life through a creative reconciliation of the destructive dualisms inherent in all existence. More specifically, this reconciliation is achieved through beauty or eros in nature. Art in those terms is pressed into the service of eros, mirroring man's essential grounding in the laws of nature, while nature itself symbolizes the incommensurable and ultimately the divine essence: "Kunst wird in diesem Sinne zum ewigen Gleichnis der Natur — des Unsterblichen also im Spiegel der Vergänglichkeit — und Natur zum Gleichnis der heimlich wirkenden Gottheit." (p. 63)

Zuckmayer's theorizing during the next major phase of literary creativity (1940 to the present) provides a more rounded and detailed aesthetics. As in the preceding phase, the main lineaments of his aesthetics are evolved from the dominant tenor of his dramatic works and therefore reflect changes in his basic view and presentation. The most significant of these is a predominant concern for a realization of his ideal of *Humanität*, which comprises both ethics and a transcendental or eros force.

Zuckmayer, the man of action, realizes apparently with some regret the extremely limited influence that his own craft can exert on the actual course of history.⁹ All the greater, however, and indeed without limitations, is his belief in the influence the dramatist can wield in the creation of a moral climate for our generation and succeeding ones. Zuckmayer's specific program for a moral regeneration remains somewhat vague in its phrasing, since he has recourse in general to the catch-all terminology of love. The propagation of love or the creation of a positive "Stromkreis der Liebe" within the context of his "Jugend und Theater" seems specifically directed against overcoming its opposite, hatred (pp. 9-10).

Here, typically, the theorist merely confirms the dramatic craftsman. Zuckmayer's great concern over ethical and humanitarian considerations has become an integral part of his post-war dramas and often has led him to sacrifice the attractive and dramatic solutions of which he is a past master.¹⁰

What subject matter is a dramatist of our day to choose if he is imbued with such humanitarian love? Zuckmayer's answer is that he is to mirror our time. Here Zuckmayer makes a distinction between topical (*aktuell*) and present-day (*gegenwärtig*). In his definition of the terms, the topical identifies a type of drama dealing merely with contemporary socio-political affairs or with current fads, such as the existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre. As conceived by Zuckmayer, the present-day type of drama is characterized by the fact that, while it draws on momentary conditions and problems for actual content-matter, it does so in such a way as to transcend the merely topical and relate itself to the eternal verities.

Zuckmayer's treatment of Hauptmann's *Herbert Engelmann* fragment furnishes us with a particularly lucid example of his demands for combining contemporary pertinency with ideology or ethos. As the comparative study of Boeninger shows, the most essential inner modification that the play underwent was the fact that Zuckmayer recreated Hauptmann's "timebound, temporal drama" in such a way as "to focus the argument upon absolutes, upon permanent values."¹¹

And yet, the ethical grounding is to be just one desideratum in the creation of a theater whose themes are to be drawn from the contemporary ideologies. Most important to Zuckmayer, as his eros drive asserts its supremacy again, is the added dimension which lends eternal qualities to the present-day subject matter. This is achieved through a sense of awe, "das große Staunen vor der Erscheinung des Menschen, der Welt, der Schöpfung" ("Jugend und Theater," p. 11).

To create such a sense of "magic realism," the dramatist is to delve deeply into the vital elements of his epoch in addition to its mental, ethical, and spiritual ones. This brings the consideration back to the nature-life equation, or more specifically to Zuckmayer's "Geh-Denken" process. Substituting life for walking and poetry for thinking, he suggests an intimate interrelationship of life and poetry: ". . . Dichten und Leben sind nicht wie Traum und Wirklichkeit verschieden oder verschwistert . . . sondern sie stehen in einem viel engeren, fast untrennbaren und kaum darstellbaren Verhältnis der Kongruenz und der Doppelgestalt." (*Die langen Wege*, p. 77)

Here again Zuckmayer's constant endeavor is to resolve all dualisms into a monism through the agency of eros. This emphasizes one of the main tenets of his previous aesthetic period, in which he proclaimed that the function of the dramatist is to exorcise life or fate. Actually, this is still his belief. In "Jugend und Theater" he uses the dance, as one of the original forms of all theatrical expressions, to give a detailed picture of the dualism inherent throughout all manifestations of nature. In the dance of primitive people there were the gruesome and barbaric instincts as well as the tender and humane ones, and this conflict is still implicit in all art form.¹² It is this dualistic factor which is to be exorcised —

"Der Dämon muß gebannt werden, indem man ihn darstellt, in eine Mitte zwingt, einkreist und absorbiert" (p. 13).

If the situation is applied to the relationship between actors and audience, the same proposition holds true. A cruel instinct of the audience projects itself mercilessly upon the actors, who represent the more tender instincts and who, through this process, are rescued from their isolation to become a part of the whole. But the cathartic effect as it extends to the audience is Zuckmayer's special concern; to him this is one of the most important functions of the drama. The dramatist, through his gift of synthesis, conjures up the healing forces of wholeness. Through creative participation in the spectacle of the drama man catches a glimpse of the underlying harmony which is of God, and by such an embrace of the whole, he secures the cathartic effect or gains in some measure a realization of the soundness to be found in the ultimate total. It is dramatic creation of this wholeness that Zuckmayer sees as the supreme task of the dramatist.

Thus, the dramatist becomes a healer giving men through eros an awareness of their potential wholeness. More specifically, he brings about a catharsis by giving an intimation of the incommensurable unitary force in which all dualisms and all chaos are resolved and which reveals divine essence. Again, as in the previous period, beauty, as an outer manifestation of eros, is the closest man can get to an actual perception of the fundamental unity. Beauty becomes the primary linking concept between macrocosm and microcosm. The search for beauty in nature equates itself with a search for unity through the agency of the eros drive, and this search is visualized or symbolized through beauty (*Grimm*, p. 42). This type of beauty constitutes the pivotal concept in what, it is hoped, has emerged as an aesthetics, grounded in a strikingly pantheistic *Weltanschauung*.

Zuckmayer's own words may stand here as a summarizing statement for his aesthetic objectives:

Es ist . . . die Aufgabe des Dramas, die Sendung der Tragödie: Heil zu künden. Hier scheint mir die höchste Forderung an die Tragödie zu liegen: daß sie uns heil entläßt — nicht versehrt, verletzt, vermindert. Heil: im Sinne des sokratischen Eros, der ein Welt-Heiland ist. Die Katharsis aller großen Dramen ist von einem Widerschein durchfunkelt, der die Hoffnung schürt auf das Bestehen eines größeren, ewigen Lichtes unbekannter Substanz — darin der mächtige Ursprung, das geheime Ziel aller Seelen lebt, und in dem sich unser Gut und Böse, Gerecht und Ungerecht auf einer göttlichen Waage ausgleicht. ("Notizen zur Situation des Dramas")

The type of drama that results from such a view Zuckmayer designates as poetic theatre,¹³ characterized by its complex substance and by its subservience to the demands of a true *Humanität*. This *Humanität* is to be created by the transcendental or eros force which binds all elements of existence into a deep and meaningful whole.

Eine neue Menschlichkeit, auf die allein es ankommt, wird nur aus einer neuen Schau und Erkenntnis wachsen können, die das Spirituelle, das Magische, das Über-Rationale, die Wirksamkeit eines höheren *Daimonions* und einer tieferen Bestimmtheit unserer Existenz, in das Ringen um die irdischen Umstände und ihre Sinnggebung aktiv einbezieht. ("Jugend und Theater," p. 7)

¹ This paper was read, in a shorter form, at the twelfth annual University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference at Lexington, Kentucky, in April, 1959.

² *Pro Domo*, in *Schriftenreihe "Ausblicke"* (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1938); *Die Brüder Grimm, Ein deutscher Beitrag zur Humanität* (Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp, 1948); *Die langen Wege, Ein Stück Rechenschaft* (Frankfurt a/M: Fischer, 1952).

³ "Jugend und Theater," *Der Monat*, III (April, 1951), 3-14; "Notizen zur Situation des Dramas," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 23, 1953, p. 7.

⁴ Most striking, in this connection, is his diatribe against existentialism of the Sartre variety. Cf. "Notizen zur Situation des Dramas."

⁵ This tendency is particularly noticeable in *Die langen Wege*. There his landscapes are simply thought images and symbolic reflections of the walker.

⁶ *Die langen Wege*, p. 55. Cf. Luise Rinser's inspired words: "Zuckmayer liebt die Natur . . . [Die] Natur lieben heißt sie 'erkennen,' beinahe im biblischen Sinn. Weitab von naturwissenschaftlichem Erforschen, Experimentieren, Analysieren. Erkennen heißt: das Wesen eines jeden Geschaffenen mit allen Sinnen erfassen . . . in einer Art erotisch-mystischer Vereinigung mit einer Kreatur das Geheimnis ihres Seins, ihrer Schönheit, ihrer Wachstumsgesetze, kurz ihre Wesenheit auf unmittelbare Weise erfahren." ("Porträtskizze," in *Fülle der Zeit, Carl Zuckmayer und sein Werk*, Frankfurt a/M: 1956, p. 15.)

⁷ "Logik, Kausalität, oder, in menschlichem Bezug, 'Motivierung,' scheint mir das nebensächlichste und unmaßgeblichste aller ihrer [dramaturgischen] konstruktiven Elemente zu sein." (*Pro Domo*, p. 81.)

⁸ Cf. the following statement: "Denn ist nicht das Wunderbare und wahrhaft Verewigungswürdige der menschlichen Natur, wie aller Natur überhaupt: Daß sie — über einem fürs zeitliche Auge nicht zu umfassenden Grundriß geheimster Planung, — in freiem ungebundenem Kräftespiel, ohne sichtbare Ziele oder Zwecke, ja ohne Andeutung von einem begrifflich wägbaren Sinn — sich unermesslich entfaltet . . . immer wieder im Wandel unzählbarer Verlarvungen ihr Wesen verbergend . . ." (*Ibid.*, pp. 81-82).

⁹ Cf. Luise Rinser's observations: "Zuck . . . hat ein heimliches Ideal, einen Knabenraum von sich selber: er sieht sich als Mann der Tat. Nicht umsonst gilt seine Liebe Karl May . . . und nicht von ungefähr bewundert er Udet und Mierendorff, die aktive Männer des öffentlichen Lebens waren . . . und es geschah auch nicht nur aus politisch-humanitärer Absicht und nicht nur um der Aktualität willen, daß er zum Helden des 'Kalten Lichts' einen Atomspion wählte, einen Mann der Tat also und einen, der sich in ein gefährliches Abenteuer einläßt" ("Porträtskizze," in *Fülle der Zeit*, pp. 21-22).

¹⁰ Cf. *Der Gesang*, whose unattractive and undramatic metaphysical and ethical core reflects not only Zuckmayer's sense of responsibility but also his self-sacrificial qualities and his courage. It should be noted, in this connection, that Zuckmayer has made significant changes in some of his plays merely for the sake of creating an aura of love (see the change of characterization of Oderbruch in the film version of *Des Teufels General*). Cf. Weber's remarks: "Die Besorgnis, vielleicht Mißverständnisse, Bitterkeiten und Ressentiments auszulösen und so die Wirkung abzuschwächen oder gar in falsche Bahnen geleitet zu sehen, veranlaßt ihn zu Korrekturen, die er früher wahrscheinlich rundweg abgelehnt hätte . . . Er will ja nicht aufputzen, skandalisieren oder radikalieren, sondern Umdenken, Umkehr und Zustimmung durch die Überzeugungskraft von Vernunft und Gefühl erreichen." (Paul Friedrich Weber: "Im Gespräch," in *Fülle der Zeit*, p. 73.)

¹¹ Helmut Boeninger, "A Play and Two Authors, Zuckmayer's Version of Haupt-

mann's *Herbert Engelmann*," *Monatshefte*, XLIV (November 1952), 348. Cf. Zuckmayer's own remarks: "Es ist, obwohl auf eine ganz bestimmte, scharf abgegrenzte Epoche fixiert, kein 'Zeitstück' — es ist eine menschliche Tragödie, von der man eher sagen könnte, daß sie 'zwischen den Zeiten' stattfindet, und deren Probleme und Charaktere nicht unter einem aktuellen Aspekt anzuschauen sind." (Gerhart Hauptmann-Carl Zuckmayer, *Herbert Engelmann*, München: C. H. Beck, 1952, p. 274).

¹² The fuller statement reads as follows: "Alles vitale Theater . . . kommt vom tänzerischen Antrieb . . . Und wie bei den tänzerischen Beschwörungen der Fruchtbarkeit und des Todes primitiver Naturvölker, umschließt es die wilden, grausamen, barbarischen Instinkte, die Nachtschatten, die in der menschlichen Natur, im menschlichen Eros angelegt sind, ebenso wie die zarten und gütigen, die brüderlichen und mütterlichen Erstrahlungen." ("Jugend und Theater," pp. 12-13).

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 13. It may be noted in this connection that Happ in his analysis of the entire dramatic output uses that very designation. A. Happ, *Dichterisches Theater*, in *Fülle der Zeit*, p. 31-33.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OUTSIDER CONCEPT IN HESSE'S NOVELS

KURT J. FICKERT
Wittenberg College

The outsider has become a tradition in modern literature, having lately undergone apotheosis in a book *The Outsider* by Colin Wilson (Boston, 1956). Although the outsider has as his forbears the isolated, anti-Philistine romantics,¹ today he wears his rue with a difference. Mr. Wilson, his biographer, depicts him as the lonely individual who is estranged from the conventional way of life, revolted by it, who seeks through the cultivation of his individuality to achieve a better ("more abundant" is the specific terminology) way of life, and who because of his very endeavors in defiance of the every-day (specifically "bourgeois") world prevents it by way of stimulation from becoming completely obsolescent.² In surveying the literature from which the modern messiah type of outsider has emerged, Mr. Wilson gives his finest accolade to Hermann Hesse, probably German's greatest living writer of prose. For Wilson, viewing the totality of Hesse's work, his achievement is matchless in modern literature, "the continually rising trajectory of an idea, the fundamental religious idea of how 'to live more abundantly'" (*Outsider*, p. 66). Wilson states that Hesse's contribution to the outsider tradition consists in the main of the sequence of five novels from *Demian* on; from these he derives his analysis of Hesse's delineation of the outsider. For Wilson *Demian* is the "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man" (p. 53); the hero's (Sinclair's) art is his life, which he lives symbolically, plunging into the outsider's sea-deep search for an identity. Mr. Wilson finds that this bold descent, a nightmare journey through chaos, where good and evil are equally monstrous, is the only way to self-realization. The next seeker in this sequence of novels is Siddhartha, whose search for a self can be more plastically presented in that Siddhartha, having acknowledged the chaos which is the soul, is shown trying to live a form of life (as a mendicant monk, as a disquieted student of Buddha, as a hedonist merchant) which will bring a meaningful order to the soul. Following *Demian* and *Siddhartha* comes *Der Steppenwolf*, which Mr. Wilson identifies as "one of the most penetrating and exhaustive studies of the Outsider ever written" (p. 57); in its hero, Harry Haller, Wilson sees the outsider-messiah, whose passion is the substance of the book, but who brings salvation. "The Outsider's 'way of salvation', then, is plainly implied. His moments of insight into his direction and purpose must be grasped tightly; in these moments he must formulate laws that will enable him to move towards his goal in spite of losing sight of it. It is unnecessary to add that these laws will apply not only to him, but to all men, their goal being the same as his" (p. 61). For the two remaining novels, *Narziss und Goldmund* and *Das Glasperlenspiel*, Wilson has

few words; he concludes that in them as in *Siddhartha* the hero pursues a way of life (Goldmund that of *Natur*, life in the living; Knecht that of *Geist*, life in the cultivation of the mind), only to find in the end that it does not lead to the ultimate goal, to complete self-realization, which lies somewhere in between the two ways. The note of inconclusiveness on which these five novels of Hesse (with the possible exception of *Der Steppenwolf*) end is the source of Wilson's dissatisfaction with Hesse's outsider, whom he terms "romantic" and "impractical." Nevertheless, he is an outsider because he stands apart from the ready-made, the conventional, and seeks his own answers to the problems of existence, the principal problem being that of finding out how to live more abundantly. Wilson is intent upon recognizing "the magnitude of Hesse's achievement" in defining the outsider and his problems (p. 51).

In all of his work Hesse has concerned himself with the individual and his quest for meanings in life.³ For Hesse the forms of the society which surround the individual are meaningless; therefore, the individual becomes the outsider, the Hessean hero who asks, "How shall I live?" (By way of contrast, the outsider hero in the work of Thomas Mann asks, "Why am I living thus?" and in Kafka the outsider asks not at all.) Although, then, the theme of the outsider underlies much of Hesse's work, there are three novels which, it seems to me, stand out as signposts, marking the direction of Hesse's thinking in terms of an outsider concept, in terms of the nature of such a being. First, *Unterm Rad* depicts the making of the outsider, the development of his awareness of the social organism and his separation from it, his becoming an isolated cell. In *Demian* a later stage of the outsider appears: the outsider develops in his isolation, achieves independent life (a stage sometimes known as the break-through). Hesse's "Bible" for the outsider, then, is *Der Steppenwolf*, in which he prescribes a way of life for the full-fledged outsider and gives him his reason for being.

The first of these three novels, *Unterm Rad* (in *Gerbersau*, II, Tübingen 1949), concerns a schoolboy Hans Giebenrath and his struggle with the world in which he lives. It is his father's world, the world of middle-class society which respects money, respectability, and God (from a distance). Hans performs well in school and as a reward is going to be allowed to become, at state expense, a theologian. But Hans already has the mark of the outsider (the mark of Cain): the awareness that he is something other, something better than his well-fed, carefree friends (p. 18). However, Hans does not resist being led down the first few steps of the well-defined path which leads the brilliant offspring of the middle class to a safe and respectable career in the church; he goes to the seminary at Maulbronn on a scholarship. Here he feels the full weight of the educational system, which, with regimentation as its goal, forces the plastic stuff of young lives into conventional molds. Here spirit and intelligence are oppressed, crushed under the wheel. Here manifests itself

the conflict between the professors and the bright student, between society and the gifted individual, between the Philistines and the artist: the school relentlessly seeks to root out the few extraordinary students who chance to appear and to nip in the bud any outgrowth of spirit (p. 86 f.). Schools, for Hesse, make no provision for the growth of the individual; they strive, rather, to restrict growth to the group level. And, as far as Hesse is concerned, only the individual and his growth matter. The frightening effect of this stultifying educational system upon the young individual of promise is aptly voiced by Kuhn, the hero of Hesse's *Gertrud* (Berlin, n.d.), who sums up his schooling with the complaint that where he had expected enjoyment, edification, glory, and beauty, he had found rules and regulations, restrictions, and trouble (p. 55). For Hans Giebenrath at Maulbronn the situation becomes equally intolerable. His inner revolt is manifested in his friendship with a dangerous fellow-student, Hermann Heilner, actually a *Doppelgänger* (he is the "healer" and also H. H., Hermann Hesse), one of that kind with which Hesse surrounds his heroes and with which he populates his novels. Heilner brings open revolt into the scope of Giebenrath's thinking. Heilner does not try to conform. He struggles against the yoke of the bourgeois educational system and for a moment (three days actually) breaks free. Heilner's escape from the school is thwarted; he is returned. His father then takes him home, and Hans Giebenrath hears no more of him. This episode in *Unterm Rad* marks the birth of the outsider. The example of Heilner convinces Hans that he, too, cannot exist in the fold, that he has, because of his very nature, been shouldered out of it, and that he must acknowledge and live with the fact of his isolation. The sadness in the book comes from the ending, which depicts Hans's failure to cope with the realization of his outsider-ness. Having failed at school, he returns home to fail at something else (work as a *Schlosser's* apprentice); a failure at being "one of the boys" leads to drunkenness and a half-accidental, half-suicidal drowning. The last section of the novel, however, gives it its distinction, for as Hanns Martin Elster has pointed out ("Hermann Hesses Leben und Werk" in *Gertrud*, p. 24), it begins as *Tendenzliteratur*, a satire on the school of the Wilhelmine era. As it focuses, however, on the last year in the life of Hans Giebenrath, it becomes the story of an individual who became an outsider, and it tells of his sadness at being an outsider and of his failure to make something valid of the role.

Hesse's *Demian* is the story of Emil Sinclair, who on the other hand, after intervals of sadness and doubts makes a success of himself as an outsider. The book, in many respects a document rather than a novel, deals exclusively with the shaping of the outsider. It opens with the rejection of the bourgeois world and its values an assumed fact, and attention is at once centered on an ideal which stands quite opposite to anything in the middle-class scheme of values: the ideal of individuality.⁴

In his letters Hesse identifies the search for this goal as the course which his hero Sinclair pursues in *Demian* and identifies himself with his hero. It was his destiny, Hesse states (*Briefe*, Berlin, 1951, p. 67), to have to search quite alone and to have to search first of all for his own self and to have subsequently to form a personality. The confessions of an outsider involved in this search are the essence of *Demian*; the outsider is Hesse. When Hesse wrote *Demian*, he had abandoned a decade-long attempt to compromise the conflict between his integrity and the demands of the bourgeois world; he had sought to criticize the middle class while he remained one of them, with writing as an "occupation," with a wife, a family, and a house with a garden. The marriage shipwrecked; after the advent of the First World War, which he heard the bourgeoisie celebrating, he could no longer reach them, nor did he wish to identify himself with them. So he stood quite alone. That he had been alone before, like Hans Giebenrath, he realized, but unlike him he did not stand still and weep; rather, he pursued the path marked for the outsider, the exploration of one's self. Emil Sinclair in *Demian* states the principle which motivates him and which motivated Hesse: there is no other duty for the awakened soul than that of finding itself, of establishing itself, of pursuing its destiny, whatever that may be (Zürich, 1925, p. 174).

What is the result of Sinclair's delving into the problems of self-realization? (Wilson suggests that Hesse isn't altogether sure of what the result should be, *Outsider*, p. 55.) Hesse makes visual the goal toward which he is striving, the achievement which Emil Sinclair must carry out: it is identification with the perfect outsider, with Demian, who appears as a *Doppelgänger*. Unlike the *Doppelgänger* in *Unterm Rad*, Hermann Heilner, Demian is not a chance acquaintance who makes a brief but crucial appearance in the life of the hero. He is the image or ideal which Emil Sinclair carries within himself.⁵ The novel consists of Sinclair's inner search for this ideal. Sinclair first becomes aware of the presence of this inner resource during a crisis in his childhood. Having recognized the sham security of the bourgeois world, having left it and standing alone in the face of the evil which the outsider must accept as an aspect of truth, Sinclair finds himself being victimized by the cruelty of the real world: a boy from the wrong side of the tracks blackmails him. Demian, ostensibly another schoolboy, but one possessed of strange powers, learns of his plight; a word from Demian drives the blackmailer away in total defeat. Sinclair, having become an outsider at the cost of the safe, little world in which the unenlightened live, realizes for the first time the potentialities, the significance of the position which he has so dearly bought. The investigation of the circumstances of the outsider proceeds. Demian lectures on the mark of Cain; the stigma which made Cain an outcast is interpreted as the sign of election⁶ (the Cain myth having been misinterpreted in the Bible). Then, for a time, Demian dis-

appears, and Sinclair wavers, like Hans Giebenrath, flounders in his role as outsider. But the drive that has caused the outsider to become aware of himself reappears and impels him onward to the formation of an identity, to a positive assertion of his personality. Sinclair's need to identify himself with Demian becomes involuted, involves first of all an acceptance of the amoral nature of all creation (acceptance of both good and evil), then an attempt to understand creativeness itself, a principle represented in myth as a woman, as "the woman." In the story the woman is Demian's mother, longed for by Sinclair and possessed (incestuously, it is suggested) by Demian. Demian's mother promises herself to Sinclair when the two young men go off to fight in World War One, which by blowing bourgeois civilization to bits is supposed to leave the field to outsiders. The strange relationship of Demian and Sinclair ends in a field hospital during that war. Both soldiers have been wounded. When Demian dies on his cot, Sinclair on his cot nearby suddenly finds that he has become Demian: Sinclair has found his own self (*mein eigenes Bild*), which is identical with Demian (*Demian*, p. 226).

Demian, which at times reads like a lyric poem and which at other times has some resemblance to a novel, is most significant as another way station on Hesse's road as an outsider. Here he sees the outsider as an entity. Many people who were technically outsiders had populated his novels and stories up to this point (*viz.*, Hermann Lauscher, Kuhn in *Gertrud*, Veraguth in *Roßhalde*, Knulp, Karl Eugen Eiselein, Walter Kömpff), but they had been outsiders largely because of what they had not been. They had not conformed; they had not been willing to compromise. The way of conformity and compromise is for Hesse the middle-class way, the Philistine way, a way of falsehood and delusion. The denial of this way of life first takes on a positive aspect in *Demian*. The outsider fights his way into existence here; through long searching within himself, which leads almost to schizophrenia, he assumes an identity. Sinclair becomes Demian.

That this road can lead also to despair, to no ending, Hesse concedes, as his letters reveal (*Briefe*, p. 53), in the short story "Klein und Wagner." Here the hero, who is a "Klein" seeking his *Doppelgänger* Wagner, fails in his search; like Hans Giebenrath he drowns. So the problem of the outsider remained with Hesse after the completion of *Demian*. A solution was again undertaken by Hesse in the novel *Der Steppenwolf*, which represents both a cumulative study⁷ of his thinking on the subject of the outsider and a step ahead in his exploration of the potentiality of the outsider, an examination of the "mission" of the outsider.

Constructed like a fugue (Hesse's own analogy, *Briefe*, p. 76; he also calls it a sonata, p. 34) around the theme of the outsider, *Der Steppenwolf* presents the outsider in triplicate: in an introductory essay by the "editor" of the book, in an interposed essay, the *Tractat* ("A Treatise on the Outsider" Wilson calls it, *Outsider*, p. 58), and in the body of

the book, the *Aufzeichnungen* of the outsider. The introduction re-echoes *Unterm Rad* in depicting the strange author of the *Aufzeichnungen*, which the editor has discovered by chance, as the product of an upbringing at home and in school which has as its object the bourgeoisie-inspired aim of all education, the breaking of the will, the achievement of conformity (*Der Steppenwolf*, Berlin, 1927, p. 20 f.). The editor observes, however, that this man, trained in and enchained by the precepts of the bourgeoisie, who is a quiet, neat little man living in a little rented room in middle-class surroundings, has nothing but bitterness and scorn for bourgeois accomplishments. The *Aufzeichnungen* begin at this point, rephrasing in the words of Harry Haller himself, their author, his hatred for the bourgeoisie. He castigates the middle class for its thriving nature, its complacency, its optimism, its adulation of the normal and the average (*Steppenwolf*, p. 44). Thus, drifting along the environs of a bourgeois civilization, which he abhors but cannot escape, Haller is an outsider. His problem is the futility, the hopelessness of such an existence. A message which promises to put some meaning into his life comes to him, first in the form of a vision, a doorway to a Magic Theater, which fades, then in the form of a pamphlet which is pressed upon him on the street. The booklet, called the *Tractat*, which, Haller finds, concerns the outsider generally and himself specifically, repeats the idea of the bourgeois background of the outsider and his separation from it—the stage of *Unterm Rad*, takes up the idea of the individuation of the outsider, expounded in *Demian*, and then enters into the question of the relationship of the outsider to middle-class society. The focal point of the essay is the analysis of this interrelationship which torments Haller: it is one of interdependency. The outsider needs the impetus modern society gives him to rise above it; society needs the outsider to keep it from deteriorating, to give it form and substance. As Wilson states, the outsider is the mainstay of the bourgeoisie (*Outsider*, p. 59); the *Tractat* (*Steppenwolf*, p. 21) also makes this basic assertion. The point is rather tenuous, but seems to be that middle-class society asserts itself because of the challenge of the outsider, and the outsider asserts himself because of the challenge of middle-class society. The achievements of the middle class are also the achievements of the outsider.⁸ How the outsider can endure this debilitating relationship is the question which ensues and which the *Tractat* undertakes to answer. Here, as is frequently the case in his confessional novels, Hesse's thinking becomes quite involuted. The *Tractat* suggests that to survive, the outsider must gird himself with a sense of humor. Realization of the irony of the situation is to be the talent on which the outsider must depend. However, this gallows' humor which the outsider must exercise is involved in the pattern of interdependency between the outsider and bourgeois society. Hesse states that humor is a bourgeois quality, of which not the bourgeoisie but only the outsider is possessed. What makes humor bourgeois is the factor that it

involves seeing the truth and coming to terms with the truth, a kind of compromise which is the very essence of bourgeois thinking. However, only the method—the compromise—is bourgeois; facing the truth is an impossibility for the middle class. So Hesse means to save the outsider with humor, which he takes out of the hands of the bourgeoisie ("Tractat," *Steppenwolf*, p. 23). To underline the irony, the *Tractat* concludes by laughing at the outsider.

After the *Tractat* Haller's *Aufzeichnungen* resume; the novel becomes to a great extent a depiction of the chaotic world of the twenties and its reckless pursuit of pleasure. Harry meets Hermine, who is a female *Doppelgänger* of his friend Hermann (who is no doubt Hermann Hesse, whose *Doppelgänger* is Harry Haller). Hermine leads Harry into a hedonistic world. However, her ultimate function is to take Harry to the Magic Theater, which he had but glimpsed at the beginning of his excursions. Hesse's letters emphasize repeatedly the importance of the concept of this Theater (*Briefe*, pp. 27, 43, 44, 99). In it Harry assists in a symbolic destruction of mechanistic civilization, finds love, kills Hermine (the hedonistic principle), meets Mozart who preaches *Humor*, plays the chess game of life, in which the chessmen are various aspects of Harry Haller. The Magic Theater is the artist's soul, both the ramifications of his subconscious and the wellspring of his creativeness. Harry leaves the Theater again, but in it he has acquired a faith and a consolation. With these parting presents to the outsider Hesse abandons his direct treatment of the outsider problem (Wilson, *Outsider*, p. 64). The faith is a belief in the creative powers of the outsider, his communion with the great creative artists of all time (*viz.*, Mozart, also Goethe, who appears in *Der Steppenwolf*), his contribution to the constructive side of humanity. These immortals also show the outsider how he may be consoled for his loneliness and isolation, how he must approach life with a sad humor. In the end Harry Haller hears the laughter of Mozart echoing in his ears, and he is ready to go on playing the part of outsider.

Harry Haller can be conceived of as an ageing Emil Sinclair (Wilson, *Outsider*, p. 58); then, too, Hans Giebenrath is the schoolboy Emil Sinclair. The three figures and the novels in which they appear mark three definite stages in Hesse's dealing with the outsider problem, a problem which occupies him in most of his work. The earliest novel *Unterm Rad* is more limited in its treatment of the outsider because in it Hesse is still concerned with the epic quality of the novel. Hans Giebenrath is a character, and the story that is told is the story of his schooling. The very fact that the novel does not succeed, however, is due to the schism which results when Hesse abandons his epic presentation to make Hans Giebenrath a symbol of outsider-ness. In *Demian*, then, there is no story at all. The book deals solely with the process of individuation on the part of the outsider. *Der Steppenwolf*, finally, is the outsider, his break with society in the past, his individuation an accomplished fact. These

themes are used by way of summary and by way of introduction to Hesse's delineation of the road of salvation for the outsider, marked by a shrine of belief and a signpost signaling laughter.

¹ The segregation of the artist *per se* can be traced back at least as far as Plato.

² The outsider is a symbol for the dissatisfaction with present-day civilization felt by the perceptive few — a civilization which threatens moment by moment to blow itself out of existence. Thus Hesse presents the outsider, according to Mr. Wilson, as "the highest form of life that civilization knows — next to the prophet" (*Religion and the Rebel*, Boston, 1957, p. 148).

³ Cf. Joseph Mileck, *Hermann Hesse and his Critics* (Chapel Hill, 1958), p. 165. "That Hesse has always been a lonely outsider engrossed with himself almost to the complete exclusion of everything else, is an obvious observation."

⁴ Cf. Heinrich Geffert, *Das Bildungsideal im Werk Hermann Hesses* (Langensalza, 1927), p. 80 f.

⁵ Cf. Dr. Hugo Mauerhofer, *Die Introversion (mit spezieller Berücksichtigung des Dichters H. Hesse)* (Bern, 1929), p. 50.

⁶ Walter Naumann, "The Individual and Society in the Work of Hermann Hesse," *Monatshefte* XLI (1949), 35.

⁷ Anni Carlsson, "Vom Steppenwolf zur Morgenlandfahrt," in Hugo Ball, *Hermann Hesse*, fortgeführt von Anni Carlsson and Otto Basler (Zürich, 1947), p. 253. Also Wilson, *Outsider*, p. 57.

⁸ Claude Hill, "Hermann Hesse als Kritiker der bürgerlichen Zivilisation," *Monatshefte*, XL (May, 1948), 248.



ON THE FORM OF THE "ANNOLIED"

MICHAEL S. BATTS

University of California, Berkeley

It is surprising that despite recent interest in the structural complexities of medieval literature the *Annolied* should still be regarded as a group of irregularly formed stanzas, of which the sole formal characteristics are the symbolic divisions at the 7th and 33rd stanzas. The author clearly indicates the significance of these divisions by reference in the 33rd stanza to the 33 bishops of Cologne and the 7 canonisations. De Boor in the first volume of the recent *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*¹ confines himself to a recognition of this fact and dismisses the form in the laconic sentence, "Stilistisch steht der Dichter in der Tradition des 11. Jahrhunderts; sein Gedicht ist in knappe Abschnitte von 6 bis 12 Reimpaaren gegliedert, die man noch Strophen nennen darf."² The article on the *Annolied* in Stammeler's *Verfasserlexikon* shows even less appreciation of the formal qualities of the poem by stating, "Ob der Dichter oder seine Hörer ein Mißverhältnis zwischen der längeren Einleitung und der kürzeren Legende empfunden haben, wissen wir nicht. Das immer erneute Abschweifen im geschichtlichen Teil erklärt sich durch die Eigenart des Dichters, der beim Einzelnen gern aufs Allgemeine zurückging und wohl auch alles, was er gerade wußte, beizubringen liebte, ohne jemals auf die Dauer den Faden zu verlieren."³ Even a superficial reader must nevertheless be struck by what one might almost term the obsession of the author with numbers. There is hardly a stanza which does not contain some reference to numbers, to the 12 apostles, to the 4 kingdoms, to the 40 days of death (and 40 years of life) of the missionary Maternus, and so forth. Yet as far as I know only Max Ittenbach in his essay "Aus der Frühzeit rheinischer Dichtung: Das Annolied"⁴ makes any attempt to point to further formal characteristics and then only in passing, and he, although he posits certain stanza groupings which agree in part with my own conclusions, makes no attempt to investigate their interrelation or significance. I shall therefore not discuss his findings but proceed with an analysis of the poem.⁵

The main divisions of the poem occur at stanzas 7 and 33. The author relates first the "Heilsgeschichte," that is to say the spiritual history of Man from the creation through the fall to the redemption, and from the redemption again up to Bishop Anno of Cologne. The division of the world into the two worlds of spirit and reality having been indicated in stanza 2, the way is then paved for the second part, namely the story of the historical development of the world. We are given in stanzas 3 to 33 a survey of world political history which ends again with the bishopric of Anno. This much is generally recognized, and Ittenbach further adds the suggestion that the final stanzas, which are devoted to Anno himself, may be subdivided into 4 groups of 4 stanzas each.⁶ My attention was drawn, however, to the possibility of a further structural

division of the work by the 17th stanza, in which explicit reference is made to the Anti-Christ, — "Daz bezeichnint uns den Antichrist," — and which stanza divides the initial group of 33 stanzas exactly in the middle. However arguable this stanza may be as a mid-point of the first portion, it at least contrasts the two groups of 16 stanzas for the history of the world (spiritual and historical) with the one group of 16 stanzas for the story of Anno. The subject matter then led me to what I feel to be a definite structural pattern within this group of stanzas, that is, within the history of the world as described in stanzas 8 to 33.

The first 3 stanzas describe the early world, pre-history as it were, up to Daniel's dream, in which the prophet saw 4 winds which became 4 angels, and 4 animals which stood for 4 kingdoms. The 4 kingdoms are then described at increasing length; Babylon is dismissed in 1 stanza of 6 lines, the Persian kingdom in 1 stanza of 10 lines, whilst the Alexandrian empire is given 2 stanzas totalling 32 lines, or twice the sum of the preceding 2 stanzas. The history of the Roman empire begins with stanza 16, and the reference to the Anti-Christ occurs in the following stanza. This is not all we are to hear about the Roman empire, but it is the end of the interpretation of the dream and thus a compositional division. There are so far 10 stanzas, of which the first 3 form an introduction. In the 18th stanza commences the narration of Julius Caesar's conquest of the German tribes, again in (for the author) ascending order and at increasing length. Caesar conquers the Swabians, Bavarians, Saxons, and finally "sinen altin magin," the Franconians. This group of stanzas, 6 in all, forms a distinct unit and may be compared with the four kingdoms in the preceding section. Subsequently Caesar, after being repudiated by Rome, returns with his now allies, the German tribes, and becomes Emperor. This is the subject matter of stanzas 24 to 30, after which follow in extremely concise narration the prophecy and birth of Christ in the reign of Augustus, the conversion of Rome by St. Peter, and the latter's sending of missionaries to the Franconians, together with the conversion and subsequent Christianity of the Franconians down to the 33rd bishop, namely Anno. All this last narration covers only 3 stanzas or 58 lines, a quite remarkable achievement and one which makes very clear the intention of the author to work up at this point to a climax. He is in fact working to a careful plan, a plan which may seem on first reading the poem to obscure the main purpose and lead to the neglect of the nominal hero, but which in fact raises the hero to a position of eminence by placing him at the focal point of both the spiritual and political history.

The history of Man's salvation is related in the first 7 stanzas, after which follows the political history of the world, divided as follows:

- 3 stanzas, introduction, Daniel's dream
- 7 stanzas, interpretation, the 4 kingdoms
- 6 stanzas, Caesar's conquest of the 4 tribes

7 stanzas, Caesar as the first Emperor

3 stanzas, the new kingdom of Christ down to Bishop Anno.

Stanzas 1 to 7 are thus a simple progression, whilst stanzas 8 to 33 have a complex form. The first 10 stanzas describe the first 4 kingdoms (down to Caesar); the middle group declares the central position of the 4 German tribes who are at this point drawn into the empire, whilst the final 10 stanzas describe the political Imperium with Rome as the centre of the world, only to demonstrate at the end how the new kingdom of Christ overcame Rome (through Peter) and how now (again for the author) the most important representative of the new order is Bishop Anno.

The final 16 stanzas of this work are equally programmatically worked out. There are 3 clearly demarcated groups of stanzas, indicating the 3 stages in Anno's progress from the life of this world to paradise.⁷ In the first section of 4 stanzas Anno is represented as a model man among men; he has the model virtues of "milte," "triuwe," and "barmherzigkeit." The first 2 lines set the tone for the subsequent description of his good deeds:

Den vil tiurlichin man

Müge wir nu ci bispilin havin. (XXXIV, 1-2)

In the second group of stanzas, namely 38 to 43, Anno stands alone; it is his "staete" and his "triuwe" to God which are now being tried and tested; he undergoes purification from any trace of human weakness. This thought is introduced by the extended simile of the goldsmith purifying gold in the fire. The last two lines of this stanza point the comparison:

Also sleif Got Seint Annin

Mit arbeidin manigin. (XXXVIII, 11-12)

Finally, the last 6 stanzas describe Anno's sanctification; the author begins by saying:

Dü dat cit dü begonde nahen

Daz imi Got wolte lonin,

Dü ward her gikeistigit

Als dir heiligi Iob wilin. (XLIV, 1-4)

This is, however, in contradistinction to the trials of Job, not a description of tribulation, for this part has already been passed. Anno is now beginning the process of shaking off all trace of mortality; he is, as it were, already on the road to paradise. This state is then exemplified by the miracles which take place. In order to make this quite clear we are given a very realistic description of just one miracle, a method frequently employed in medieval literature, where one "bispel" may represent a series, just as one individual conflict on a stage may represent a battle between armies. It is in this light that the story of the servant Arnold must be seen, a story which by modern standards of form would probably be condemned as intrusive. For it is at this point that the poem abruptly ends. The sequence is nevertheless complete. Anno has been described

to us as a model man whom we should take as an example. This is followed by his purification, his freeing from mortal sin, and again this is an example to the reader of the manner in which God proves his own. Finally we are shown, in example, the grace which is bestowed upon those whom God has chosen for paradise. We must bear in mind at this point that miracles are not only a prerequisite for canonisation but also *sui generis* the expression of God's grace, bestowed upon someone who is in the true sense of the word hallowed. Having made his point through the detailed description of the miracle, the poet compares it with the miracles of Moses and combines in this way the idea of the saintliness of Anno with the conception of Anno as a leader of his people, as a political leader. The two earlier parts, the "Heilsgeschichte" and the "Reichsgeschichte," are drawn together at the close of the third part, which is itself the "Heiligengeschichte."

In summary form the structure of the poem is therefore as follows: There are 49 stanzas divided at the 7th and 33rd; the 17th stanza marks a division of the first 33 stanzas into two parts of 16 to contrast with the final group of 16 stanzas. The group of stanzas 8-33 is divided into 10 (3 + 7) - 6 - 10 (7 + 3), and the final group of 16 stanzas into 4, 6, and 6. Despite, therefore, its apparent formlessness, despite also the apparent irregularity of narration and lack of concentration on the stated subject, the poem is a remarkably subtly constructed work, and one which admirably achieves the author's purpose.

¹ Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, (Munich, 1957²), I, 151-153.

² Op. cit., 153.

³ Wolfgang Stammler: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, (Berlin und Leipzig, 1934), Vol. I, col. 90.

⁴ *Euphorion* XXXIX (1938), 17-28. Hans Naumann in *Deutsches Dichten und Denken* (p. 55) makes a similar brief reference to the form, but without substantiation or discussion.

Bodo Mergell's essay, "Annolied und Kaiserchronik," requires no comment. I was unable to obtain the Zürich dissertation by K. Fritsch, *Das Annolied* (1957).

⁵ The edition used is that of the *Editiones Heidelbergenses*, No. 2, published by Carl Winter in 1946.

⁶ Op. cit., 26.

⁷ I fail to agree with Ittenbach at this point, who claims, "die folgenden 16 Strophen, die das Leben Annos behandeln, sind in vier Gruppen zu je 4 Strophen gegliedert, die seine Heiligung auf einer jeweils höheren Stufe darstellen" (op. cit. p. 26). The first group I accept, but cannot agree that stanzas 42 and 43 are to be separated from 38-41 (although the idea of 4 symmetrical groups is attractive). For in stanzas 42 and 43 is achieved what I take to be the purpose of this group of stanzas, namely the demonstration of Anno's purification as stated in stanza 38. Anno has failed as yet to forgive the people of Cologne, and until this is done, God's object has not been accomplished. Only after direct divine intervention (through the dream) does Anno forgive the people of Cologne, and the way is then open for the next stage as set forth in the following stanza 44 - the reward.

EICHENDORFF'S "MARMORBILD": "GÖTTERDÄMMERUNG" AND DECEPTION

LAWRENCE R. RADNER
Purdue University

An Eichendorff poem which has been inserted in a prose passage must never be interpreted out of its context. Such a poem, or rather song, plays a role similar to that of Gretchen's songs in Goethe's *Faust*. The critic must view it as a summation of what has gone before and as a promise of what is to come. For Eichendorff, the song is an expression of the individual's desires and problems; it reflects the movement of the heart as it experiences itself and the world. The title of the poem to be discussed here, "Götterdämmerung," suggests the initial step in the analysis. "Dämmern" is not only associated with a dying out but also with what is to be.¹ Consequently, if the title is significant, part I should be a presentation of the old gods and part II depict the dawning of the new. The action between the two halves of the poem, constituting the main body of the plot, is then the individual's encounter with, temporary acceptance, and ultimate rejection of the old. This view must prevail if we are to assume that the structure of the story is not static but dynamic, that, as a *Novelle*, it presents a vital moment and event in the life of the hero. We are substantiated in this view by the fact that the poem, which is presented in two parts at the beginning and end of the story, is obviously and deliberately different in content. The protagonists of the gods are Donati and Fortunato. We shall concern ourselves with Donati, the central figure in the second half of part I of the poem.

Donati is easily recognized as a mysterious and sinister figure. It only remains to identify him. Donati disrupts the congenial tone of the gathering as he makes his initial and unexpected entrance.² In his presence Bianca feels vaguely uneasy and even afraid (II, 314 f.; in this connection we recall Gretchen's reaction to the "atmosphere" of Mephisto). Donati does not live within the city of Lucca, the city of light. His horse becomes increasingly difficult to manage as the riders approach the city (II, 315). On Sunday, as Florio speaks of God's peace in the fields and as the church bells ring, this strange man becomes restless, uneasy, and even fearful (II, 325). He is also, quite incomprehensibly, familiar with Florio's home and his favorite haunts, even though Florio neither knows nor recalls him (II, 314). Florio finds Donati sleeping in the garden of Venus (II, 323), and the latter calls her his relative (II, 323). After the garden is destroyed, Donati's residence simply vanishes and is replaced by a simple cottage inhabited by a God-fearing Christian family (II, 340). He wears jewelry which emits a green-golden shimmer (II, 314). The precious stone which Venus wears sparkles in precisely the same manner (II, 334). As Florio calls for help with the words:

"Herr Gott, laß mich nicht verlorengehen in der Welt," a green-golden snake slithers down the crumbling wall. The use of color, so effectively employed above, to establish a significant relationship, is a favorite Eichendorff technique. Donati, as he makes his first entrance, is described as follows: "Da trat ein hoher, schlanker Ritter in reichem Geschmeide, das grünlichgoldene Scheine zwischen die im Walde flackernden Lichter warf, in das Zelt herein. Sein Blick aus tiefen Augenhöhlen war irre flammend, das Gesicht schön, aber blaß und wüst. Alle dachten bei seinem plötzlichen Erscheinen unwillkürlich schauernd an den stillen Gast in Fortunatos Liede. — Er begab sich nach einer flüchtigen Verbeugung gegen die Gesellschaft zu dem Büfett des Zeltwirtes und schlürfte hastig dunkelroten Wein mit den bleichen Lippen in langen Zügen hinunter." (II, 314) The adjectives "schön," "wüst," "bleich," "blaß" are a veritable formula which Eichendorff employs to stigmatize the God-estranged soul. The reader can know that any Eichendorff character so described has left or is in danger of leaving the garden of God.³ It should be clear that Donati represents those forces which seek to subvert the spiritual vitality of Florio, or, to phrase this as Eichendorff intended, to encourage his alienation from God. We now turn to the poem where Eichendorff names him for us.

The poet guides us by having the singer, Fortunato, change "Weise und Ton" (II, 312). The gay, carefree movement which characterized the previous part of the poem is suddenly arrested. The joyful sounds, "Klänge," so important in Eichendorff's symbolism, are stilled. A chilling and paling of the atmosphere results. Nature herself is filled with tears as the intruder appears. He wears a wreath of lilies and poppies. This would seem to be a confusion of symbols. We associate the lily with purity and the poppy with the dream and illusion, the unreal, as it were. In this instance, illusion is used to convey the impression of purity, that is, what is acceptable to God.

The next strophe contains another characteristic of Eichendorff's style, the subjunctive mood. He frequently uses it when he wishes to show the initial step of deception, of falsehood. Whenever the reader encounters the "als ob," "als wie," "als . . ." or "wie . . ." pattern, he must proceed slowly with his interpretation. In this case, we must be sceptical of the kiss that *seems* to be a greeting from the heavenly kingdom. The deception is advanced another stage with the words: "Wo ist einer, fragt er / Den heimwärts verlangt" (II, 313). The heavenly kingdom and homeward are identified. Eichendorff has borrowed Novalis' familiar "nach Hause." Deception is now so complete that this intruder, who represents the unreal world, seems to be a messenger and mediator who guides one to the world of spiritual reality, the world of grace and God. Florio, however, is not the innocent victim of powers before which he is helpless. The psychology of self-deception, as it pertains to activity of a spiritual significance, is such that an individual cannot be deceived

unless he *wants* to be deceived. This simply means that the individual structures any given area of life in such a way as to reflect his dreams, wishes, desires, and attitudes; whatever error is incorporated in the structure is there because the person deems it necessary, proper, and good that it be there. In other words, the individual accepts deception, the error, because to him it is not a lie but the truth.⁴ Before we can continue with our interpretation of the poem, it is necessary to validate the above by testing it upon Florio's behavior.

Florio admits to Fortunato that he is traveling without any particular purpose. This is the first sign of error. In Eichendorff's universe the individual is woefully deceived if his days are not dedicated to one great purpose — the ultimate vision of God. The youth feels as though released from a prison, and "alle alten Wünsche und Freuden sind nun auf einmal in Freiheit gesetzt" (II, 308). This admission is of particular significance. It is clear that what Florio describes as "ein Gefängnis" and "die alten Wünsche und Freuden" are incompatible. The youth's first song clarifies the problem. The song which he sings to Bianca — he only sings the first strophe (II, 308) and continues it later in the night as he walks in the moonlight (II, 317) — is entitled "Liebe in der Fremde." "Alte Wünsche und Freuden" are thus associated with "Liebe in der Fremde." This can be seen more clearly from the last three verses of the poem under discussion.

O Mädchen, *jenseits überm Fluß,*
Du lauschest wohl und hörst's von weiten
Und kennst den Sänger an dem Gruß! (II, 317; italics mine)

We note the words "jenseits überm Fluß," which reiterate the suggestion in the title of the song, that this love is in an area of existence foreign to the "prison." We must also consider the words which follow the poem. Eichendorff tells us categorically: "... die reizende Kleine mit dem Blumenkranze war es lange nicht mehr, die er eigentlich meinte" (II, 317). His experiences "und sein nachträumendes Herz hatten ihr Bild unmerklich und wundersam verwandelt in ein viel schöneres, größeres und herrlicheres, wie er es noch nirgends gesehen" (II, 317 f.). As the deception progresses, his dreams take on flesh and blood, and Venus is resurrected *almost despite* her will. It should be apparent that the youth has left one state of being, the prison, and embraced another. The important thought is that this was done of his own free will. This is presented at the very beginning of the story. Subsequent events, as the illusion becomes reality for the youth, are rendered possible because Florio desires the deception. Donati, the mysterious intruder, can only facilitate but not *compel* acceptance of the unreal. He plays the role of a spiritual pander who exploits the desires, "die alten Wünsche und Freuden," of the victim. Florio thus actually exhorts the stranger to take him to Venus and even defends him before Fortunato, who finds his presence quite unbearable. The significance of this act will be understood when we recall that it is Fortunato who saves him with a pious

song. Florio defends deception against the truth. With this in mind we return to the last strophe but two of the poem.

Und was hier versunken
Als Blumen zum Spiel,
Siehst oben du funkeln
Als Sterne nun kühl. (II, 313)

These are the words of the intruder described by the poem. The flowers which have become stars offer a contrast which should be unambiguously clear. The transitory flower has replaced the relatively eternal star. Bianca has become Venus; the unreal has become his only reality. Because the poem points ahead to subsequent events, we encounter the star motif in the main movement of the story. As the youth first sees the marble image, Venus is described as being enchanted and gazing upon "das Bild der eigenen Schönheit, das der trunkene Wasserspiegel zwischen den leise aus dem Grunde aufblühenden Sternen widerstrahlte" (II, 318). A day later Florio is still confused by the magic of the enchantment. "Denn drinnen zogen die Sterne noch immerfort ihre magischen Kreise, zwischen denen das wunderschöne Marmorbild mit neuer, unwiderstehlicher Gewalt heraufsah" (II, 320). This means that Florio's spiritual world has been turned *upside down*. It is this thought that enables us to understand the two strophes and which actually provides the perspective that brings the symbolic structure of the *Novelle* into focus.

Eine Fackel wohl trägt er,
Die wunderbar prangt.
"Wo ist einer," fragt er,
"Den heimwärts verlangt?"
Und manchmal da drehet
Die Fackel er um —
Tiefschauend vergehet
Die Welt und wird stumm.

The mysterious being with the torch fits into the pattern that has been developed, and also explains who he is. In the Catholic Church, this figure represents Lucifer, the prince of deceivers.⁵ It is the world of Venus, where Lucifer waits to be "awakened" by the misguided (II, 323). Thus the principle of inversion, which allows the flowers to appear as stars by which one charts one's spiritual course, is a characteristic of Venus and her garden. Again Eichendorff weaves the symbolism into the movement of the plot. As Florio returns home after meeting Bianca for the first time, he rests upon his bed fully clothed. ". . . da war es ihm, als führe er mit schwanenweißen Segeln einsam auf einem mondbeglänzten Meer. Leise schlugen die Wellen an das Schiff, Sirenen tauchten aus dem Wasser, die alle aussahen wie das schöne Mädchen mit dem Blumenkranze vom vorigen Abend. Sie sang so wunderbar, traurig und ohne Ende, als müsse er vor Wehmut *untergehn*. Das Schiff *neigte sich unmerklich und sank langsam immer tiefer und tiefer*. — Da wachte

er erschrocken auf." (II, 316; italics mine) Even though the youth *wakes up* frightened, we are not actually told that he had fallen asleep. Eichendorff informs us that the dream, the illusion, is gradually becoming the substance of his waking moments. When Florio sees the garden of Venus for the first time, he gives us the following description: "Nur hin und wieder erwachte manchmal eine Nachtigall und sang wie im *Schlummer* fast schluchzend. Florio betrachtete verwundert Bäume, Brunnen und Blumen, denn es war ihm, *als sei das alles lange versunken*, und über ihm ginge der Strom der Tage mit leichten, klaren Wellen, und *unten* läge nur der Garten *gebunden* und *verzaubert* und *träumte* von dem *vergangenen* Leben." (II, 321; italics mine)

We can now see why, in the last strophe but one, Lucifer has become for Florio "der Jüngling vom Himmel." The angel with the inverted torch lights the sunken world of Venus. He gives light to the unreal, the existence outside the garden of God. But just as the moon which plays such a symbolic role in the story, has no real light of its own, so deception cannot prevail unless the will of the individual, Florio, permits it to be. It is for this reason that Eichendorff has given the mysterious intruder the name of Donati.

Donatism refers to a schism of the fourth century after Christ. It held that the validity of a sacrament, as understood by the Roman Catholic Church, depended upon the worthiness of the minister or the recipients. Because this concept is erroneous, a deception, as it were, the apparent reality of the unreal world of Venus has nothing to do with the worthiness or lack thereof of its minister, Donati. Donati is not the author of Florio's desires but merely ministers to them. Furthermore, the validity of the spiritual world is utterly independent of its minister, Fortunato. It is not really the pious song which Fortunato sings that destroys the illusion, but rather Florio's call for help. In brief, deception draws its life from the one who has gone astray; spiritual reality, when the soul becomes the garden of God, is nurtured by the grace of God. This explanation fits the roles played by Donati and Fortunato. We turn to St. Augustine to define Florio's position. "But if the recipient be himself *misguided*, then that which is administered does not avail for his salvation while he remains in his error."⁶ The word "salvation" brings us to the last strophe of the poem.

Was will ich noch hoffen?
Hinauf, ach hinauf!
Der Himmel ist offen,
Nimm, Vater, mich auf! (II, 313)

The sum totality of what Eichendorff wishes to portray with the Venus symbol does not lead to salvation. And yet Florio feels that it does *because* he has left the "prison." The notion of ascension and of heaven being open is absolutely contradicted by the action in the *Novelle*. He is as one walking in a dream — Eichendorff actually describes him thus — his vision is clouded, and he *walks* into the darkness of a sunken

garden where the flowers have become stars. Augustine continues: "... on the other hand, that which he receives remains holy in the recipient, and it is not renewed to him if he be brought into the right way" (ibid.). What had been given to the youth, at the beginning of the story, was the love of Bianca. This love, the vehicle of deception, is not renewed, but seen in a different light. As he rides with Bianca after the Venus crisis, he suddenly becomes aware of the maiden's beauty. "Eine seltsame Verblendung hatte bisher seine Augen wie mit einem Zaubermantel umfassen" (II, 345). He admits to Bianca: "Ich bin wie neugeboren, es ist mir, als würde noch alles gut werden, seit ich Euch wiedergefunden" (II, 346). The total spectrum of this problem, and the *Novelle* does have others, is revealed by the first and last song which Florio sings. "Liebe in der Fremde" sets the pattern for the symbolic action. The last song, "Der Umkehrende," which contains the line: "Hier bin ich, Herr," clearly implies a return to the right way, that is, to God.

¹ Although the term "dämmern" is usually associated with a dying out, it also expresses the emergence of something new. This is evident in such colloquial phrases as: "Der Morgen dämmert herauf," and others. This technique of assigning a double value to certain words and even movements of the plot is very characteristic of Eichendorff.

² J. v. Eichendorff, *Werke*, 4 vols., ed. by Siegfried Grosse and Gerhart Baumann (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1953-57), II, 125. All subsequent page references will be to this edition and given in the text.

³ It has been determined that the function of the garden symbolism is to convey the state of grace of a given individual. For an analysis and discussion the reader is referred to my unpubl. diss. "Religious Faith in the Novels and *Novellen* of Eichendorff," (Princeton, 1957), chapter 4.

⁴ Deception, as described above, is one of the most significant themes in Eichendorff's works. A complete explanation would involve the entire apparatus of his faith, his use of nature, the psychology of love, and his concept of human nature. In matters of faith Eichendorff is strict and firm. On the other hand, although he may seem to judge a man, he never judges mankind. Viktor in *Dichter und ihre Gesellen* remarks: "Sieh . . . das ist ein Friede Gottes überall, als zögen die Engel scharen singend über die Erde! Die armen Menschenkinder! Sie hören's nur wie im Traume. Müde da unten, *verirrt in der Fremde und Nacht*, wie sie weinend rufen und des Vaters Haus suchen, und wo ein Licht schimmert, klopfen sie furchtsam an die Tür, und es wird ihnen aufgetan, aber sie sollen *den Fremden* dienen um das tägliche Brot, darüber werden sie groß und alt und kennen die *Heimat* und den Vater nicht mehr." (II, 670; italics mine)

⁵ The word Lucifer means the bringer of light. The same term, in astronomy, is used to designate the star Venus when it is the morning star. For this reason Donati calls Venus his relative. In keeping with the symbolism of the inverted torch, Florio sees the world of darkness as belonging to the morning. "Der Morgen," as a symbol, is too complex to be discussed here; we shall only use Fortunato's words to suggest its significance: "Der Morgen ist ein recht kerngesunder wildschöner Gesell, wie er so von den höchsten Bergen in die *schlafende* Welt hinunterjauchzt und von den Blumen und Bäumen die *Tränen* schüttelt und wogt und lärmt und singt. Der macht eben nicht sonderlich viel aus den sanften Empfindungen, sondern greift kühl an alle Glieder und lacht einem ins lange Gesicht, wenn man so preßhaft und noch ganz wie in Mondschein getaucht vor ihn hintritt." (II, 319; italics mine).

⁶ St. Augustine, *De Baptismo*, IV 16, 18; italics mine.

HAUPTMANN'S "DIE VERSUNKENE GLOCKE" AND IBSEN'S "AUF DEN HÖHEN"

WARREN R. MAURER
University of California, Berkeley

That *Die versunkene Glocke* (1896) contains borrowings from Ibsen's *Master Builder*, *Peer Gynt*, *Brand*, and *Lady from the Sea* has already been shown.¹ It seems to me equally plausible that in writing his play Hauptmann was also influenced by a long Ibsen poem which has been largely neglected by scholarship.² If he knew Ibsen's *På vidderne* or *Auf den Höhen*, as it is called in the Schlenther edition,³ it is not unlikely that the great similarity to his *Glocke* is more than mere coincidence.

Both works are *Bekennnisdichtung*, and Hauptmann and Ibsen at the time when they were writing them were faced by similar artistic and personal difficulties. Ibsen, a husband and father, was deeply in debt and in an almost constant state of alcohol-nurtured despondency. He seemed to have arrived at an artistic impasse and did not publish a single drama between *The Vikings* (1857) and *Love's Comedy* (1862). His *Höhen* (1859-60) is an expression of beliefs he was formulating about himself and his art at that time. It tells of a young hunter who leaves behind mother and sweetheart and sets out for the heights, expecting to return soon. While in the mountains, however, he meets another wild, demonic hunter, "der wilde Jäger," who teaches him to sever his ties with the valley to the point where he can watch the burning of his house — with his mother in it — and the wedding procession of his betrothed as aesthetic events. The usual interpretation is that a man who dedicates himself to art must be prepared to give up the earthly pleasures of life and happiness, dispense with emotion, and be able to view existence with a lofty, icy objectivity. For Ibsen it marks the victory of *Geist* over *Gemüt* and the beginning of a new singleness of purposes — his rigid concentration on drama. It was at this time that he gave up his early loves of painting and lyric poetry, and it is possible that these two art forms are symbolized in the mother and sweetheart.⁴

Turning to Hauptmann some thirty-five years later, we find that he too was undergoing similar difficulties while occupied with the *Glocke*. On the more personal side were the domestic troubles involving his young actress friend, Margarete Marschalk; artistically there was the failure of his *Florian Geyer* when it was first played on January 4, 1896. Whereas in Ibsen's poem the theme and symbolism are relatively simple and only the hunter has a real-life counterpart (i.e. Ibsen himself), Hauptmann's play contains many more direct, detailed autobiographical allusions, which Fechter sums up as "die Problematik des Menschen der Kunst" and "die Frage nach Recht oder Unrecht einer neuen Liebe."⁵ It is the first point — the problem of the artist as a human being — which is central to both

play and poem. In each case the hero is tempted toward what he considers a higher type of personal and artistic fulfillment symbolized by the "heights," vacillates, makes his decision and shows a distinct character development in the process.

A dominant trait of Ibsen's personality, his burning "all or nothing" ambition (cf. Zucker, p. 35) is strongly reflected in the *Höhen*. The poem is the expression of an insanely ambitious flight to the cold, clear, barren heights high above human pettiness, but also beyond any moral categories. As long as there is a glimmer of emotion left in his breast he will not have attained complete clarity, for emotion, be it expressed in love or hate, happiness or sorrow, beclouds the objective view. But in killing emotion the artist murders that which makes him a human being. In short, he dies, and if he still exists, it is only as a conscienceless robot, a machine capable of photographic, phonographic re-creation of reality — the ideal naturalist as later espoused by the Holz-Schlaf partnership. Thus Ibsen's point of view when he was writing the *Höhen* tended heavily toward an unqualified realism. As in Hauptmann's case the severity of his outlook lasted only a short while and had been modified by the time he wrote *Love's Comedy*.

Heinrich's return climb to the heights in the *Glocke* is also a climb toward the light (i.e. absolute truth) or toward a total submergence in reality. But the *Glocke* differs from the *Höhen* in the conception of the final reality. Hauptmann's form of ultimate truth is more mystical than Ibsen's and is not obtained by purifying himself from emotion, but, on the contrary, by giving himself over to the fairyland world of Rautendelein — a world as far beyond the pale of good and evil as Ibsen's emotionless heights. Whereas Ibsen forsook lyrical forms for realism, Hauptmann in the *Glocke* turned away from realism to the lyrical and symbolic. Schlenker believes this trend began with *Florian Geyer*. In this bell (i.e. work) which he had laboriously pushed up the mountain he had tried for the first time to wander "auf die weltgeschichtliche Höhe der Jahrhunderte,"⁶ just as Heinrich wished to walk "im Klaren überm Nebelmeere . . . / und Werke wirken aus der Kraft der Höhen."⁷ Only in the ideal world of the heights are masterpieces created. In the valley Heinrich is only a bell-founder, a mere artisan, and judging from the words of the Wittichen, not a great one: "Ihr nennt a Meester. Mit dar Meesterschoaft / is ni weit har" (p. 80). Both Heinrich and Hauptmann hope to rise to the status of true artists; the former by breaking all ties with the valley and the latter by rising above naturalism (cf. Schlenker, p. 146).

If we pause briefly on the heights the heroes have reached, we come to the conclusion that Ibsen's may be colder but that they are certainly less obscure. Yet the success of Hauptmann's play was perhaps due to its obscurity. Borchardt writes: "Allerdings ist der Modeerfolg der *Ver-sunkenen Glocke* nur aus der Zeitströmung zu verstehen, als man sich,

des Naturalismus müde, der alten deutschen Märchenwelt überließ und in den verschwommenen Idealen eines Nietzscheschen Übermenschentums einen Weg in die Zukunft des Menschengeschlechtes sah."⁸ Here he touches on another facet of the *Glocke* which has a counterpart in the *Höhen*. Heinrich had a mission. He felt called to unite the upper and lower realms and to lead his contemporaries from the fog to the light and from their groping narrow-minded bigotry into a hazily conceived world of beauty and truth. Near the end of Ibsen's poem, after the hero has succumbed to the temptations of his *Dämon* and is becoming hardened to his new environment, we have a parallel to Heinrich's mission:

Bin ich ganz in Stahl getrieben,
Hol' ich mir die zwei vom Thale,
Lehr' sie *meinen* Werktag lieben,
Führ' sie ein im Hochlandsaale. (p. 99)

Whether we are to take the "zwei vom Thale," as meaning literally only the mother and sweetheart, or whether they are to be understood as representative figures for the valley people in general, is not made clear. What is clear is that he wishes, after first having raised himself, to raise them too above the stage of superstition where they feel the valley man's awe before the mountains. He wants to educate them to his own wisdom and condition them to truth and beauty. Like Heinrich he wants to perform a synthesis of the upper and lower realms.

After having climbed the heights, the heroes of the poem and play hesitate before the one decides to remain and the other flees again to the valley. In both cases religion, the loved ones below, and ringing bells are involved in the decision. For Ibsen the bells symbolize valley life in general and orthodox Christianity in particular. His views become clear in the stanza:

Doch ich höre Glocken klingen,
Locken über Land und Buchten!
"Laß sie klingen! Besser singen,
Gießbachwasser in den Schluchten!" (p. 97)

Here the lines in quotes are spoken by Ibsen's *Dämon* and indicate, along with similar lines on the same page, that Ibsen had at the time a pantheistic conception of being, very similar to that suggested in the *Glocke*. That Hauptmann is not anti-Christian but only opposed to narrow-minded orthodoxy is clear from Heinrich's encounters with the pastor. That Ibsen also does not feel that he has broken with God is clear from his closing lines: "Hier auf den Bergen ist Freiheit und Gott, / Dort drunten tappen die andern." (p. 104)

So far the development of themes from the two works is quite similar. The main difference is in the decisions the two heroes finally make. The one, Ibsen's, is able to overcome the temptations offered to return to the valley by the symbols of the bells and the loss of mother and sweetheart. Heinrich is less successful because he is not as strong, and when he hears the bell, the sound of his conscience, pealing up from

beneath the lake, he throws over the "lichte Welt." (Fechter, p. 107)

It is interesting to find that the symbol of the last drink also appears in both works. In the *Glocke* Heinrich drinks three glasses, the last one representing death. Ibsen ironically calls his last drink *stärkend*, but it too represents a form of death. "Ich trank den letzten stärkenden Trank," he writes, "Jetzt macht mich kein Gipfel mehr frieren; / Mein Lebensbaum stürzte, mein Schiff versank" (p. 104). If not dead literally, his hero has nonetheless died as a human being.

It has been shown elsewhere (Guthke, pp. 28-32) that both heroes were destroyed by art. There is yet another aspect of the artist problem presented by Hauptmann and touched upon by Ibsen; the old dilemma of the receptive individual who cannot form. In Ibsen it appears primarily in the stanza beginning: "Träumen, träumen, warum träumen? / Handle doch im Tag, im Lichten" (p. 97). In Hauptmann it comes out clearly in Heinrich's character, in the scene with the dwarfs, and in the words of the Wittichen: "Ma koan dersch soan: du woarscht a groader Sproß, / stoark, doch nich stoark genug" (p. 163). As in the case of Loth, Johannes Vockerat, and Florian Geyer before him, Heinrich is a better talker than a doer. Although Hauptmann may have tried to alleviate the situation somewhat by suggesting that the synthesis of upper and lower realms is impossible for man to accomplish anyway, he did not choose the best character for the task—as Ibsen's hero shows. The difference between Heinrich and the young hunter is the difference between Hauptmann and Ibsen. Hauptmann seems to have been incapable by nature of creating the latter's strong characters (cf. Zander, p. 161).

This personality difference is also shown in the form and language of the two works. Nowhere, for example, does Ibsen's hero speak such effeminate lines as Heinrich's: "Und nun erklingt mein Wunderglockenspiel / in süßen, brünstig süßen Lockelauten" (p. 126).

I have concentrated on what I consider to be the main motifs of the two works. There are other obvious parallels also. A look at the folklore elements in both works shows, for instance, that Hauptmann's *Waldschrat* and Ibsen's *wilder Jäger* are not only related by function—i.e. both contribute to the downfall of the hero—but also that the *Waldschrat* has in his make-up some traits in common with the *wilder Jäger*.⁹ That Ibsen too was able to use folklore effectively is clear from the way in which he adds mystery by having the high-points of description, the burning of the mother and the marriage of the sweetheart, occur on Christmas Eve and noon of St. John's Day. These *Wendezeiten* of the day (noon and midnight), within the *Wendezeiten* of the year, are considered the most favorable hours of the entire year for supernatural apparitions and events.¹⁰ More obviously of course Ibsen's "Elbenvolk und Neck und Troll" (p. 91) also people his heights, but play a more passive role than their cousins in the *Glocke*.

Whether from the standpoint of folklore, central theme, or motifs,

there appear to be few elements in the *Höhen* which are not also found (usually in a more elaborate form) in the *Glocke*.

¹ See Rosmarie Zander, *Der junge Gerhart Hauptmann und Henrik Ibsen* (diss. Frankfurt a. M., 1947), pp. 162-190. Cf. also K. M. Gunvaldsen, "The *Master Builder* and *Die versunkene Glocke*," *Monatshefte*, XXXIII (1941), pp. 153-162. For a more complete list of the works from which Hauptmann drew his potpourri of motifs for the *Glocke*, see H. J. Weigand, "Gerhart Hauptmann's Range as Dramatist," *Monatshefte*, XLIV (1952), 326.

² See however K. S. Guthke, "Die Gestalt des Künstlers in G. Hauptmanns Dramen," *Neophilologus*, XXXIX (1955), 28.

³ Henrik Ibsen, *Sämtliche Werke in deutscher Sprache*, durchgesehen und eingeleitet von Georg Brandes, Julius Elias, Paul Schlenther, I (Berlin, 1898). Wherever necessary, subsequent references to this volume will be indicated in my text as *Ibsen*. Hauptmann may have known the Ibsen poem through his friend Schlenther, who was probably occupied with the German edition while he was writing the *Glocke*.

⁴ Adolf E. Zucker, *Ibsen the Master Builder* (New York, 1929), p. 80.

⁵ Paul Fechter, *Gerhart Hauptmann* (Dresden, 1922), p. 106.

⁶ Paul Schlenther, *Gerhart Hauptmann Leben und Werk* (Berlin, 1922), p. 145.

⁷ Gerhart Hauptmann, *Das Gesammelte Werk* (Berlin, 1942), III, 102.

⁸ H. H. Borchardt, "Beispiel für Drama: Gerhart Hauptmann," in *Deutsche Literatur im XX. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. v. H. Friedmann und O. Mann, 3te veränderte und erweiterte Auflage (Heidelberg, 1959), p. 390.

⁹ See J. A. Walz, "The Folklore Elements in Hauptmann's *Versunkene Glocke*," *MLN*, XVI (1901), 98 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. Paul Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch* (Leipzig, 1914), III, 1.



NEWS AND NOTES

IN MEMORIAM

Carl Frederick Schreiber, March 21, 1886 — March 2, 1960

Carl F. Schreiber was born in Saginaw, Michigan, on March 21, 1886, the son of Hugo and Adelaide Schreiber. He was married in 1911 to Estelle Martin; there are two surviving children, Barbara-Ann and Richard.

After graduating from the University of Michigan in 1907, Mr. Schreiber received the master's degree from New York University in 1910 and the doctor's degree in 1914 from Yale University. He was an Ottendorfer Memorial Fellow from 1911 to 1912, carrying on his studies in German literature at the Universities of Leipzig and Munich. In 1927-28 he was a Sterling Fellow at Yale. Upon his retirement from active service, both his alma mater, the University of Michigan, and Middlebury College conferred honorary degrees upon him. The Weimar Republic honored him by awarding him the Hindenburg Medal "für Kunst und Wissenschaft," and the present Federal Republic by decorating him with the Commander's Cross, Order of Merit.

Though Professor Schreiber spent most of his teaching years at Yale, he taught for two years, immediately following his graduation from Michigan, at the High School in Bloomington, Illinois, from 1907 to 1909. After that modest initiation into the teaching profession he moved on to New York University, where he taught from 1909 to 1913.

His career at Yale began in 1913. Here he made his mark, rising in regular progression from Instructor (1913-17) via Assistant Professor (1917-23) and Associate Professor (1923-26) to Professor in 1926. During the final years of the First World War he also served, concurrently with his Assistant Professorship in the Department of Germanic Languages, as Registrar of Yale's Sheffield Scientific School. In 1936 he was promoted to a name professorship, becoming the second Leavenworth Professor of the German Language and Literature, the first having been, from 1924 to 1928, his predecessor in the chairmanship, the late Gustav Gruener.

When the Yale Department of Germanic Languages suffered the almost simultaneous loss of two of its senior members in 1928, William A. Speck on October 9 and Gustav Gruener on December 5, Carl F. Schreiber, then in Europe, was called upon to assume the chairmanship of the Department from Gustav Gruener and the curatorship of the Speck Collection of Goetheana from William Speck, a double assignment to test the strength of any one man. Mr. Schreiber served as chairman from 1928 to 1932 and again from 1944 to 1954. He was the

curator of the Goethe Collection, without interruption, from 1928 to 1955, one year after his official retirement from the faculty.

During his long chairmanship the Department prospered, adding in quick succession such distinguished scholars as Eduard Prokosch and Hermann J. Weigand to its roster of full professors. As curator of one of the four greatest Goethe collections in the world, Professor Schreiber succeeded in adding materially to the abundant legacy of his devoted predecessor, the founder and first curator (1913-28) of the Collection. In one of his more expansive moods Mr. Schreiber once specified his contribution to the growth of the Collection by suggesting that he was chiefly responsible for supplying "the sinews of scholarly tools" after Mr. Speck had provided the actual "meat."

In 1940 Mr. Schreiber brought out, in collaboration with the library staff, the first large volume of the Catalogue of the Speck Collection, *Goethe's Works with the Exception of Faust*, a rich tome which, together with the Catalogue of the Kippenberg Collection, is one of the indispensable works of reference in Goethe studies.

Professor Schreiber was a beloved teacher. For years Yale undergraduates voted him the most popular instructor in Yale College. On the graduate level, a number of valuable dissertations were written under his helpful guidance. One of the most important and useful of these to find its way into print is perhaps Adolf I. Frantz' *Half a Hundred Thralls to Faust* (University of North Carolina Press, 1949), probably the best and most complete critical survey of the fifty-odd translators and translations of the *Faust* into English.

After his retirement more than five years ago, Mr. Schreiber spent many a pleasant hour with his precious books in both the Speck Collection and the Palmer-Schreiber Library. He came as long as his gradually declining health permitted. When he could no longer come, he had Shakespeare read to him at home and cultivated the flowers in his garden.

Carl Schreiber was a man of personal dignity and erect bearing. He was a ready and generous counselor to his many students and younger colleagues. He is sure to be remembered as one of the impressive personalities in the guild of American teachers of German.¹

— Heinz Bluhm

¹ Professor Workman's request for an obituary reached me while I was away from New Haven working in the Newberry Library in Chicago. I readily acceded to his wish although I am writing these lines without the documents usually at hand.

BOOK REVIEWS

Die Vortragsreise: Studien zur Literatur.

Von Wolfgang Kayser. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1958. 306 S. S. Fr. 18.50.

In diesem Band hat Wolfgang Kayser sechzehn Studien aus den Jahren 1950-57 vereinigt. Bei der Mehrzahl handelt es sich um Vorträge, bei den übrigen um Beiträge zu Festschriften und Sammelwerken, in einem Falle um ein Nachwort zu der Übersetzung eines portugiesischen Romans. Mit einer Ausnahme ("Der Stilbegriff der Literaturwissenschaft") sind alle Arbeiten bereits früher im Druck erschienen, allerdings an meist nicht leicht zugänglichen Stellen.

Die gehaltvollen Aufsätze Kayzers befassen sich mit grundlegenden Problemen der Literaturbetrachtung sowohl wie mit Einzelfragen der neueren deutschen, der spanischen und der portugiesischen Literatur. Eingeleitet wird der Band durch eine vorzüglich dokumentierte Untersuchung der weitgehenden Verschiebungen im Gebrauch der verbalen Präfixe und der dadurch bedingten Vertiefung des Eigencharakters der deutschen Sprache im 18. Jahrhundert. In drei Studien behandelt Kayser Grundprobleme der literaturwissenschaftlichen Kritik und Forschung. Der Vortrag "Der Stilbegriff der Literaturwissenschaft" bringt das nicht überraschende Ergebnis, daß die Stilforschung sich wohl in der Untersuchung des einzelnen Werkes bewähre, das Problem des "gemeinsamen Stils" allerdings nicht lösen könne. Von besonderem Interesse – angesichts der in den letzten Jahrzehnten sich immer stärker entwickelnden Problematik des Verhältnisses von Interpretation und Geschichte – sind die beiden Aufsätze "Literarische Wertung und Interpretation" und "Vom Werten der Dichtung." Die Wertung ist bereits in der Interpretation miteingeschlossen, die ihrerseits "eine besondere Einstellung auf das Dichterische" verlangt und dem "Ergriffensein von der Erscheinung" entstammt, daher nicht lehrbar, nicht erklärbar und auch nicht zu rechtfertigen ist. "Interpretation ist nicht das Alpha und Omega unserer Wissenschaft, sondern das Zentrum, von dem aus die Arbeit in verschiedener Richtung weitergehen kann: in die Gebiete der Poetik, der Sprachphilosophie, der Geschichte" (S. 60). Der Vortrag "Wer erzählt den Roman?" beleuchtet das stilbildende Prinzip der – erfundenen und gedichteten – Rollen des Erzählers und Lesers in Roman und vertritt die Ansicht, daß ungeachtet aller Romantheorie der Romanschreiber an erster Stelle als "Weltschöpfer" zu gelten habe. Drei weitere Studien auf dem Gebiet der Epik befassen sich mit der Erzählkunst Kleists ("Kleist als Erzähler"); mit der grundverschiedenen Gestaltung des gleichen Balladenstoffs durch Uhland und C. F. Meyer ("Die Jagd von Winchester" und "Jung Tirel"); und mit der Bedeutung des Machado de Assis für die brasilianische Literatur ("Die nachträglichen Memoiren des Bras Cubas").

Unter den drei Goethe-Aufsätzen des Bandes ist der über "Goethe und das Spiel" (Kayzers Göttinger Antrittsvorlesung) von besonderem Reiz. Ausgehend von den so weit auseinanderliegenden Auffassungen Schillers und Goethes wird die Goethesche Grundhaltung gegenüber dem

Spiel als naturgläubige schöpferische Produktivität und als letztlich ins Religiöse einmündende Offenbarung der Freiheit des Geistes gedeutet. An Hand der Begriffe "durchdringen, verstehen, aneignen" verfolgt der Vortrag "Goethes Auffassung von der Bedeutung der Kunst" die drei Aspekte, unter denen der Mensch die Kunst aufnimmt und Bereicherung und Steigerung erfährt. Kayzers "Beobachtungen zur Verskunst des West-östlichen Divans" gehen dem beträchtlichen Anteil der vierhebigen Trochäen an den Divanversen und der wahrscheinlichen Einwirkung des von Goethe als "west-östlich" empfundenen Calderon nach.

Drei weitere Untersuchungen beschäftigen sich mit dem Drama. Der Aufsatz "Formtypen des deutschen Dramas um 1800" wendet sich nach einer kurzen Betrachtung der hohen Tragödie, des Familiengemäldes und des Ritterstücks dem Schicksalsdrama zu und verweist einerseits auf die Elemente, die dem Begriff des Schicksals aus der Schauerliteratur zuströmen, anderseits auf die bisher noch wenig erforschte Bedeutung der Aufnahme Calderons in Deutschland für das romantische Drama. Dem *Standhaften Prinzen* Calderons ist eine feinsinnige Strukturanalyse gewidmet. Der Vortrag "Zur Dramaturgie des naturalistischen Dramas" bringt eine eingehende Kritik der Unzulänglichkeit des konsequenten Naturalismus von Arno Holz.

Den Band beschließen eine Übersicht über die moderne portugiesische Literatur und der "Versuch einer Einführung" in den europäischen Symbolismus. Für die Auflösung dieser bedeutenden dichterischen Bewegung um 1910 werden wohl mit Recht der einseitig übersteigerte Glaube an die magische Gewalt der Poesie und das damit verbundene selbstzerstörerische Sich-Auflösen des Ich in der "Verwandlung" verantwortlich gemacht.

Die Studien und Interpretationen Wolfgang Kayzers bieten in ihrer ungewöhnlichen Blickweite und Anschaulichkeit dem Leser überreiche Anregung. Er wird die *Vortragsreise* immer wieder gern und mit großem Nutzen in die Hand nehmen.

Indiana University.

—H. J. Meessen

Franz Kafka. Eine Bibliographie.

Von Rudolf Hennerle. München: Robert Lerche Verlag, 1958. 138 S. DM 9.00.

Diese erste umfassende Kafka-Bibliographie ist von erstaunlicher Vollständigkeit. Die erste Abteilung führt alle Drucke und Übersetzungen jedes einzelnen Werkes an. Vierzehn früher erschienene bibliographische Listen folgen. Unter den im nächsten Abschnitt vermerkten über 250 Buchveröffentlichungen werden sogar Magisterarbeiten von amerikanischen Universitäten aufgeführt. Zeitungs- und Zeitschriftenaufsätze aus aller Welt bilden den Hauptteil. Anonyme Beiträge bilden eine besondere Gruppe. Von der Gründlichkeit und Genauigkeit der Arbeit legen die nächsten beiden Abschnitte ein besonders beeindruckendes Zeugnis ab. Hier werden mit genauen Seitenangaben alle Bücher und Aufsätze genannt, die kürzere Erwähnungen über K. enthalten. Beiträge in Nachschlagewerken, kurze biographische Notizen, Sonderhefte und Programme, Vor- und Nachworte sowie Einführungen bilden je einen Sonderabschnitt. Die Durchzählung hört hier mit der Zahl 1280 auf. Ein neuer

Abschnitt sammelt alle Besprechungen unter dem jeweiligen Werktitel. Fünf volle Seiten gelten den Dramatisierungen und Bearbeitungen. Den Beschluß bildet eine Auswahl aus Illustrationen zu K. Manche Stichprobe hat die Sorgfalt der Angaben erwiesen. Ein Vergleich mit der etwas später erschienenen, aber bei weitem nicht so umfassenden Bibliographie von Angel Flores, in dem von ihm herausgegebenen Buch *Franz Kafka Today*, hat ergeben, daß Hemmerle nur einige wenige Nummern übersehen hat, die hier Erwähnung finden: Hans Bach (*Der Morgen*, 1937), Menno ter Braak (*Verzamelde werken IV*, 1936), Martin Buber (in seinem Buch *Kampf um Israel*, 1933), Jean Collignon (*Yale French Studies*, 1955-56, die merkwürdigerweise in der großen Fülle der von Hemmerle berücksichtigten Zeitschriften fehlen), Mario Lancelotti (Argos, Buenos Aires, 1950) und Santiago Monserrat (in seinem Buch *Interpretación histórica del Quijote*, 1956). Sehr deutlich wird der starke Anteil, den Amerika an der K.-Forschung hat.

Zwei einleitende Texte sind dem Buch beigegeben. Der erste, von Herman Yuttersprot, gibt eine kurze Gesamtcharakteristik K.'s (worin das Shakespeare-Zitat "the pale cast of thought" das Wort "cast" einbüßt) und der zweite, von H. S. Reiss, verfolgt die Umrisse der K.-Forschung, von der K.-Mode bis zur neueren ernsteren Forschung. Mit Recht fordert Reiss zum Schluß eine historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Erst sie wird ja die von aller Willkür befreiten Textlesungen bieten und eine neu-orientierte Forschung ermöglichen.

University of Wisconsin.

— *Werner Vordtriede*

Franz Kafka. Eine Biographie seiner Jugend. 1883-1912.

By Klaus Wagenbach. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1958. 345 S.

We do not have to read very far in this biography to become aware of its two outstanding features: the interest of the contents, which add a great deal to our knowledge of Kafka's early years, and the impressive authority of the author, which makes itself felt in a rare combination of concern and detachment. If objectivity and a sense of proportion are desirable in biographical research, they are especially so in the case of Kafka and Kafka-research. The story of young Kafka and the *tableau* of *Alt-Prag* are presented in a perfect balance of significant detail and cautious evaluation. The spirit and method responsible for this informative book might be called enlightened positivism, and we sometimes wondered whether they were a reaction to methods applied to Kafka in the past or whether, taking a broader perspective, they represent a new trend in scholarly criticism. At any rate, the human dignity and high scholastic standard of the book set a fine example and have been for us a source of real pleasure.

Mr. Wagenbach's chief purpose, as stated by him in the preface, was to publish original material (including even detailed descriptions of schoolbooks, school programs, university courses, personalities of teachers and friends), which broadens our knowledge of Kafka up to 1912 and thus complements the biography of Max Brod. The emphasis on these early years is justified by numerous quotations by Kafka himself (S.8), who knew only too well to what a high degree his childhood and adolescence conditioned his life and his creative work. References to the

creative work have been put in sparingly, in order not to detract from the major topic. The destruction of Prague and Kafka's personal modesty explain why the author included a list of 56 persons to whom he felt indebted for information. It is characteristic of his general attitude that he comments on the generous responsiveness of the many Jews in the list to him as a member of that nation which bears a heavy guilt on their account; a similar reminder of recent history is expressed in the last sentence of the book.

The documents fill the last 100 pages. They include Kafka's own articles on insurance issues and reminiscences of Kafka by Emil Utitz and Michael Mareš, who quotes a political speech by Hašek (of Schwejk fame), because this occasion was presumably the only time when Mareš heard Kafka laughing at the top of his voice. There are also such choice items as Kafka's official records from the German University at Prague, a list of titles of his library, and a certificate of his final law examination. This part is preceded by 45 pages of notes which contain a broadminded discussion of research problems and an astounding variety of source and reference material; notes of general interest are No. 450 on the author's appreciative attitude to Max Brod; No. 140 on Freud and Kafka; No. 308 on the *Prager Deutsch* with reference to Rilke. Excellent photographs are eloquent additions. The warm smile on most of the portraits seems no forced concession to the camera; completely natural, it spans the distance to his *vis-à-vis* with unreserved confidence; taken as a reflection from within, it suggests that the same source which caused Kafka intense suffering perhaps also granted him an ultimate certainty about his stature and with it a certain degree of protection.

The text proper unfolds Kafka's early development as a part of, and yet apart from, his native city and the intellectual groups with which he had many more, and more congenial, connections than the average Kafka reader would expect. The biographical approach now and then tempts the author to find in circumstantial evidence rational explanations of some of Kafka's well-known characteristics. Thus he connects Kafka's serious and life-long naiveté (Staunen) with the sudden transition from his narrow childhood to the different and very differentiated worlds in which he moved later on (p. 120, 139); he suggests that his *Entschiedenheit*, i.e. his impulse to pronounce judgment (chiefly, however, against himself) was provoked by the variety of ideals, values, and standards within the various groups around him (p. 110); and he feels that Kafka's increasing purity and economy of language was, at least to a degree, conditioned by the lack of a uniform German idiom and language tradition in Prague (94 ff.). The validity of these judgments seems doubtful. However, the author suggests rather than insists, and as Kafka's own voice is continually heard with relevant statements, the reader can draw his own conclusions. Actually, Mr. Wagenbach, by virtue of the systematically told history, makes it easier to perceive the phenomenon Kafka and his inexplorable poetic genius. For in accordance with the critics' recent concept of Kafka's *oeuvre* the book encourages the reader to leave the much too cleverly designed interpretation keys and tricks behind. Instead it calls on us to learn to read his prose as a sequence of poetic images and, in addition, to become more and more familiar with the

historic personality of the great poet and his immensely tragic fate. This approach and endeavour has been greatly advanced by Mr. Wagenbach's admirable achievement.

Swarthmore College.

—Hilde D. Cohn

American Literature As Viewed In Germany, 1818-1861

By Harvey W. Hewett-Thayer. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958. 83 pp. \$3.25.

Prof. Hewett-Thayer's book is based primarily on the files of two periodicals, the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* and the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslands*. In the earlier years covered by the survey the articles and reviews published were taken largely from foreign journals, but in the later period the majority were written by Germans.

Although it is the purpose of Prof. Hewett-Thayer's work merely to present the essence of German criticism without passing judgment on it, it seems pertinent to mention here a few of the many errors of fact, opinion, and omission that appear in the reviews cited. Cooper is generally commended, but sometimes for his faults rather than his virtues. In one review, for example, he is praised for his ability to portray female characters and is criticized because his novels suffer from a lack of tension. The treatment of Emerson is distorted by an ultra-patriotism which greatly exaggerated the German influences on his thought. This is true also in the case of Longfellow, whose works are carefully examined for German borrowing. It is interesting to note that, although several sources for *The Golden Legend* are suggested, the obvious Middle High German source is overlooked, thus making it appear that none of the German reviewers had read the drama. Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* and *House of Seven Gables*, although available in German translation, are mentioned only incidentally, *The Blithedale Romance* being the only one of his novels to rate a separate review. This was written by someone who obviously had all of his information at second-hand, for, in an unfortunate attempt to ad lib, he places the scene of the novel in the American Far West. A similar *faux pas* occurs in a review of Simms' *The Wigwam and the Cabin*, in which the book is praised for its faithful description of wilderness and urban life. None of Simms' other novels which had been translated into German are mentioned. The criticism of Poe would have been more convincing if he had not been included in the "group of clever doubters who gathered around Emerson." Melville is almost ignored, although at least three of his novels had appeared in German. Only *Mardi* is discussed in detail, and this in a translation of a French review. Charles Godfrey Leland is rewarded for his German interests by receiving the quite undeserved title of "the American Heine." Similar patriotic gratitude must have inspired the enthusiastic praise of Margaret Fuller's sonnets.

The attitude of the German critics toward American literature was in general more favorable than that of the British, although the former were obviously influenced by the British press. The English assumptions that literature cannot flourish under the leveling influence of a republican form of government and that the American mind is too practical and materialistic to produce great literature are frequently echoed in the

German reviews. The chief objection that can be raised against German criticism of American literature from 1818 to 1861, however, is not that it was prejudiced; but that it was woefully uninformed.

The University of Arkansas.

— J. Wesley Thomas

Rainer Maria Rilke. *The Ring of Forms*.

By Frank Wood. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958. 240 Pages. Price: \$4.50.

In this comprehensive view of Rilke's work, Frank Wood attempts to demonstrate the homogeneity of Rilke's writing and thought by tracing the progress of his themes and symbols. It is his belief that Rilke, though one of the most paradoxical poets of our time, is one of the most consistent (5).

The book is uneven in its style and content, but it has some very admirable features. Mr. Wood's translations of the many quotations from the poetry are for the most part faithful to the sense and form of the originals and independent in tone. His erudition is seen in the frequent allusions to the Rilke criticism and to parallels in the works of a host of European and British poets, and he shows in what way Rilke reacted to other poets and artists. Mr. Wood has a good feeling for all phases of Rilke's work and he leaps nimbly around from early to late, delightedly pointing out analogies in the realm of theme and symbol.

Wood sets out to establish connections between the themes and symbols — he speaks of theme-clusters in one place (109) — and to elucidate the changes they undergo. He has fine insight into the development of certain of these (mask, 37; death, 52, 55; animal consciousness, 71; childhood, 27, 103). I feel, however, that he is indiscriminate in his use of the terms *theme*, *symbol*, *myth-symbol*, and *motif*. He uses the terms *theme* and *motif* as though they were synonymous, e.g. "All the subsidiary themes and motifs — lovers and childhood, birds and fountains . . ." (173). I consider a motif a recurrent symbol, and quite distinct from a theme. Mr. Wood's "cosmic," "universal," or "planetary" symbols sound a little pretentious to me, and I feel that he is on perilous ground when he says "the 'dog' is so much harped on in the *Notebooks* . . ." that it becomes an "archetypal symbol" (110). Mere repetition or wealth of association do not make a symbol an archetypal one!

To return to some of the fruitful aspects of the book. Mr. Wood has some useful things to say about Rilke's aesthetic — though I am not sure what he means by a "heuristic, futurist aesthetic" (114) — and in his last reference to the question he says, I think rightly, "the creativity of the word is the key to Rilke's aesthetic" (218). One finds good discussion of the *Stundenbuch* (41), of the *Dinggedicht* (69 f.), and of Rilke's attitude to music (138 f., 184 f.), sensitive analysis of individual poems: *Herbst* (66), *Der Panther* (71 f.), *Eingang* and Sonnet I, 1 (192 f.), the First Elegy (150-166), and a fine passage on the Orpheus symbol (181-5). In the last-mentioned passage I feel that Wood is summary in his treatment of the Christian view of death, and strangely inconsistent (after stating that Orpheus is modelled in many ways after the Christ of the Gospels and that "the death of Orpheus is a sacrificial Christian idea") when he says, "But contrary to Christian belief, where death is a humilia-

tion for man and an atonement for sin, there is no death for the Singing One" (184). Surely Orpheus' immortality supports the parallel already suggested. The chapter on Orpheus reaches a fine climax in the last two paragraphs (209 f.). In the second to last, Wood describes the ideal state of being which Rilke envisioned, a state in which all tensions are resolved and we rid ourselves of self-concern. Of this state Wood says, almost rhapsodically, "To all the countless sums of nature . . . we are to add ourselves rejoicingly, destroying the arithmetic of Destiny and completing the full Ring of Forms." In the final paragraph Wood points out that Rilke's symbols (flowers, statues, gardens, etc.) are all "salvaged instances of Western tradition . . . no longer seen as isolated things but fitted into a pattern whose inner dynamics are controlled by the singing god."

But I am afraid that Wood's poetic nature leads him to make a number of sententious and whimsical statements which contribute little to a clear appreciation of Rilke's work. One reason for this is that Wood is seldom well controlled in his use of language. One meets too many pretentious, latinate terms like "thematic relatedness," "substratal," "organicity," "naturalized object" (*Naturding*), and, alongside these, the occasional cliché: "in his own inimitable way," "on the receiving end." Technical terms are frequently, and loosely, used: "contrapuntal," "figurations," "still nuclear ideas," "[the poem] has its own embryology in keeping with the crystallizing tendencies of the poet's mind." Sometimes the language is awkward or vague: "more atypical," "of similar psychological kinship," "the practically flawless *Autumn*" (one wonders where the flaw lies), "the artistic concentrated texture of these elegies." And when Wood introduces a quotation with the unelaborated statement "even a less favored poem may be a good illustration of the almost chemical concretion-process of his poetry" (134), the plodding reader wonders what mysteries he is withholding.

Wood's enthusiastic approach to Rilke occasionally produces clumsy and unrelated groups of statements like this paragraph (160):

Change of rhythm and tone is made possible by invocation substituted for interrogation. The successive repetition of "voices" prepares us for the new theme of the young dead, at the same time discharging an acoustic effect of something soft and far away. The exhortation is addressed to the poet himself and, in this case, the appeal is launched into a figure derived, characteristically, from the fine arts. The psychological situation itself is compressed in paradoxical statement between the double colons. . . .

The references to Rilke's use of sound are sometimes good, but just as often they are subjective and tenuous, if not inaccurate. The author is obviously influenced by the orthography when he says (179 f.): "The [tenth] Elegy is almost entirely organized around the dark vowels *u*, *o*, *ö* (*Jubel* and *Ruhm* start it off and it finishes on *Urleid*, *Dunkel*, *Glück* and *Rührung*)." Without going into the validity of this statement it can be said that the stressed vowels in *Glück* and *Rührung* are certainly not "dark."

It is of course easy for the non-writer to criticize the writer, and I make these criticisms in all humility, knowing that I am not engaged

here in *Bilden* but in quite subordinate *Reden*. However, I do feel that Wood, through a lack of discipline in his use of language and a lack of rigor in his method, fails to demonstrate the organic unity of Rilke's work. I finished his book with the feeling that nothing had been decided, that few of the themes, if any, had been given exhaustive or even well-rounded treatment.

Victoria College, Victoria, B. C.

—Gordon L. Tracy

En Goethebok till Algot Werin.

Edited by Carl Fehrman, Nils Ivar Ivarsson, and Hans Ruin. Lund: Gleerups Förlag, 1958. 341 pages. Price: 25 Swedish crowns.

Swedish Germanists, by tradition, are concerned only with the study of the German language; they do not work, except peripherally, in the literary field. Research on German literary topics has come either from emigrants, such as Walter Berendsohn, Anni Carlsson, and Käte Hamburger, or from laborers in the vineyard the Swedes call "literary history." In theory, the Swedish literary historian is competent in "world literature," in practice, he is a specialist in Swedish letters who may take a flyer, usually of a comparative nature, into non-Swedish realms. Swedish doctoral dissertations in "literary history" are on Swedish (or, once in a while, Danish or Norwegian) topics; the thesis in a foreign field has, through economic necessity, grown extremely rare, since docentships (and, eventually, professorial chairs) are awarded to scholars with a demonstrated competence in the main business at hand.

Swedish contributions, then, to the study of German literature have been slight: after all, they can reflect only a part-time interest of the scholar. Even meaty, and properly Swedish, topics have been neglected; for example, there is no major study of the influence of Germany on Swedish Romanticism, although long ago, in 1918, V. Ljungdorff took a step in that direction with his article on "E. T. A. Hoffmann and Sweden" in *Edda*—a Norwegian journal. Probably the most successful ventures into modern German literature have been made by Olle Holmberg, professor of literary history at Lund. His little books, *Thomas Mann och tredje riket* (1942) and *Josef och hans bröder: en kort vägledning* (1944), were written with a political and humanitarian purpose—Holmberg was a brave advocate of anti-Nazism at a university where reverence for Charles XII had somehow become transformed into enthusiasm for a later invader of Russia—but even *Tendenzwissenschaft* has permanent value if created by a stylist and thinker of Holmberg's mordacity. In an earlier period, Algot Werin, Holmberg's colleague at Lund, has made equally distinguished and more scholarly contributions; Werin's essay on Goethe and Tegnér, in *Svensk idealism* (1938), has become the classic word on the two classic poets, and a later collection of essays by Werin, *Den svenska Faust* (1950), shows not only Werin's continued interest in Goethean themes but his easy, Goethean clarity of presentation.

Professor Werin retired from his professorship in the spring of 1958; as a parting gift, his colleagues, students, and friends presented him with *En Goethebok*, a collection of nine general essays on Goethe, two notices on Goethe-translations into Swedish, renderings of two Goethe poems and of sections of *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, and nine essays on Goethe

and Sweden. The book is, all things considered, the most valuable piece of German literary scholarship to appear in the language of honor and heroes; the editors have fielded a splendid team which, in turn, has done its work splendidly. Swedish scholarship is characterized by a combination of painstaking detail-work with stylistic elegance; in *En Goethebok*, the combination has at last been applied, *in extenso*, to a non-Swedish literary topic.

The first of the general essays, by Gunnar Quarnström, is on the motif of flying in *Faust*. In its wake, or its slipstream, come: an interpretation of "Wer Wissenschaft und Kunst besitzt" by Elof Akesson, a study of *Werther's* narrative technique by Bertil Romberg, an analysis of Goethe's attitudes toward Shakespeare by Elisabeth Tykesson, reflections on *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* by Olle Holmberg, Nils Ivar Ivarsson's treatment (called "respektlös" by one Swedish critic) of the rivalry between Goethe and Kleist, Harald Elovson's helpful pre-history of three major themes in *Faust* ("honor, riches, and lust"), Gustav Frédén's fine excursus on the *Urfaust* scene, "Was giebts, Mephisto, hast du Eil?", and Ingvar Holm's "apropos" on the theatrical history of *Faust's* study. Of the essays, Quarnström's, Holmberg's, Ivarsson's, and Holm's are as rewarding and as fresh pieces of Goethe-scholarship as one can find anywhere; unlike the efforts of his younger colleagues, Holmberg's words on *Valfrändskaperna* are not based on original research, but his paragraph on the concept of tact in Goethe's day (p. 78) is by itself worth the price of admission.

The comparative studies are, with two exceptions, equally valuable. Carl Fehrman, Werin's successor, proves his qualification for the post with an extension — and polite contradiction — of Werin's essay on Goethe and Tegnér. Two "grand old men" of Swedish scholarship, John Landquist and Henry Olsson, display their vitality with brilliant studies on "Geijer and Goethe" and "Goethelinjen i Frödings lyrik"; a flag-bearer of a later generation, Gothenburg's Staffan Björck, speaks sweet reason on Goethe and Heidenstam; and Gösta Löwendahl demonstrates, in "Rydberg, Faust, och den lärda bildningen," the fine workmanship with which he also constructed his book on Rydberg's novel, *Vapensmeden*. Axel Forsström's glimpses of Ellen Key and Goethe are presented with the right air of comedy, and Rector Josua Mjöberg's concluding vignette on "Ein Goethe-läsare i Lund" ties a handsome ribbon around Professor Werin's present. The two exceptions to the general rule of excellence are Erik Ekelund's strange contribution on Goethe and Runeberg and Gösta Valdén's confusing sketch on "Goethe, Nietzsche, and Vilhelm Ekelund." One wishes that the *Festschrift's* third and silent editor, Hans Ruin (the leading esthetician of Swedish Finland), could have spoken in Ekelund's stead on the affinities between Germany's and Finland's great egocentrics.

The *entr'acte* on Goethe in Swedish translation will be of less interest to American Germanists than the scholarly works preceding and following it. Nonetheless, the translations of "Über allen Gipfeln" adduced by Johannes Edfeldt bolster Professor Walter Silz's contention (*MLN*, May, 1956, 344-345) that "Goethe's poem [is] hopelessly difficult to translate." Edfeldt includes, by the way, a rendering by one Sven Söderman which

may be the worst version of the poem ever made in any tongue. It begins: "Öfver alla toppar/ är ro./ Hvert lif som hoppar/ Sökt sitt bo." ("Over all treetops/ is rest./ Each life that hops/ [has] sought its nest.")

Librarians and scholars should not, however, buy *En Goethebok* because it reveals Saint Jerome's art in a hilarious inferno. The Söderman translation is but what university administrators like to call a fringe benefit; the salary, a very handsome one, will be paid in the essays by Sweden's most skillful hands.

Duke University.

—George C. Schoolfield

Adalbert Stifter. *Geschichte seines Lebens.*

By Urban Roedl. Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1958. 400 S. S. Fr. 23.50.

The second appearance of this monograph (*B*) leads to a comparison with the first (*A*, Berlin, Rowohlt, 1936). Briefly stated, the differences comprise deletions of quoted and other matter, and additions of new; very welcome stylistic changes; a re-casting of the table of contents; and far fewer illustrations in *B* (8) than in *A* (29). This last point concerns taste only, but the plates in *B* should really include a reproduction of one of Stifter's paintings, since this part of the author's life receives due emphasis (e.g., p. 163). The portrait of Fanny Greipl, facing p. 32, should rather appear somewhere after p. 62. The approach of the author to his subject has undergone no real variation.

In the prefaces to both editions, the author explains the absence of references to quotations on the grounds that they would interfere with the readability of his book and increase its length, reasons which, in my opinion, are not justifiable. The absence of textual verification disturbs the critical reader, and leaves him to wonder, for example, 1) whether a statement like "In seinen Mantel gehüllt, eilt Stifter den Kameraden voran, schweigend, schmerzbewegt" (p. 70) is a supposition by the biographer, or documentally supportable; 2) whether Stifter has been quoted accurately (emphasis of 'recht' and 'ganz' in *A*, p. 74, none in *B*, p. 68; 'auflöst' in *A*, p. 90, 'auflöset' in *B*, p. 84); and 3) where he can find quotations other than those from Stifter (Sealsfield, p. 54; Herder, pp. 165-166). Such matters will hardly concern the general reader, for whom this book is really intended; but a new publication on a major writer attracts the notice of the scholarly world as well, which expects documentation as a matter of course. Roedl's book obviously results from long research, reading, and pondering on Stifter as man and writer—in fact, it achieves a happy balance between these two as contrasted, say, with the works of Bindtner and Michels—but its value would certainly be enhanced by providing the readily accessible edition and page references, which could be collected at the end on perhaps not more than two or three pages. There appear also some inaccuracies, or shortcomings: the "vielgelesener Roman" contributing to *Der Hochwald* is not named (p. 139); the first sentence of *Der Hagestolz* is not as given on p. 193, not, at least, according to Stefl's edition; on p. 283, one is surprised at this first mention of Rotteck as a major influence on Stifter (there is no reference to him on p. 116, as the index indicates); at this time (1856), Stifter's mother would be seventy-two instead of seventy-five (cf. pp. 304, 14).

As a survey of Adalbert Stifter's life and works, this book can be well recommended, despite the strictures above, which point out nothing irremediable. It is a lucid presentation of Stifter's life and art, to which Roedl has reacted sensitively and reverently. "Nichts lebte tiefer und stärker in ihm als Heimat und Kindheit, nichts brannte in seinem Herzen so heftig wie die Enttäuschung der Liebe, und nichts trieb ihn mit gleicher Macht an wie der Wille zur Selbstvollendung" (p. 132) — these motivations appear throughout the book as the dominant impulses in Stifter's art and life, and seem acceptable, although the effect of disappointed love could be considered an overstatement. Stifter's intellectual and personal relationship receive adequate mention: Herder, the Robert Schumanns, Luise von Eichendorff, Heckenast, and others. This second edition is a great improvement over the first in organization and style; Roedl's paragraphs here are relatively short, as are his well-written sentences, among which there is not one *Zange*. Only two misprints were noticed.

University of Virginia.

— Harry Tucker, Jr.

Eckhart-Tauler-Seuse. Ein Textbuch aus der altdeutschen Mystik.

Herausgegeben von Hermann Kunisch.=Rowohlts Klassiker der Literatur und der Wissenschaft. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1958. 152 Seiten. DM 2.20.

In this slender volume the author and translator offers the student of medieval mysticism excerpts from the works of each of the mystics mentioned in the title. To this series of six selections there is also added Elsbeth Stagel's *Leben der Sophia von Klingenuau*. Kunisch's presentation aims not only at the typical in the writings of these mystics but it also attempts to exhibit and underscore each one's essential message, to wit: Eckhart's message of God's greatness and His birth in man, i.e. the *visio Dei* as *Erkenntnis* in man, and also of the *unio mystica* as absolute truth; Tauler's proclamation that man's preservation and salvation are definite possibilities; and Seuse's discipleship of Christ, i.e. the mysticism of Christ's passion. Thus, at the same time, the six selections tend to highlight also the differences in the nature and form of the mystical experience of each. With this in view, the author and translator presents the following excerpts in his own translation into modern German: From Eckhart's *Reden der Unterscheidung*, from his *Predigten* and from his *Buch der göttlichen Tröstung*; from Tauler he presents three *Predigten*; and from Seuse's writings he offers three selections taken from his *Vita* and two from his *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit*.

Each of the four sections (Elsbeth Stagel's is the fourth), is introduced by a critical account of the author's life and works. The first three sections are introduced and concluded with classified bibliographies. There are, thus, six separate bibliographies in this booklet. The complete text is annotated with the special view of clarifying difficult terms and concepts used by the original author. This feature is of special value when the student reads the selections from Tauler's *Predigten*.

In a broader and more general sense, the entire series of selections is seen by Kunisch against the larger background of other great medieval mystics, such as Hildegard von Bingen and Thomas Aquinas. Through these, in turn, he traces the roots of western religious mysticism to Holy Scripture. A *Grundlegung* delineates essential features of religious mys-

ticism as they tend to focus in the *unio mystica*. An Introduction dwells on the translator's task of creating a faithful modern German version of the excerpts from their originals.

This informative book is well put together. It is valuable not only as an addition to any medievalist's library but it could very well become required reading for the student of medieval mysticism in its German form. However, it assumes some knowledge about the general characteristics and fundamentals of mysticism as such.

Michigan State University.

—George W. Radimersky

E. T. A. Hoffmanns Märchen "Das fremde Kind."

By Urs Orland von Planta. Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1958. 125 S. S. Fr. 12.00.

In a carefully documented study, von Planta adds an important analysis of a relatively neglected E. T. A. Hoffmann fairy tale to the critical literature of that romantic author. Based on wide and thorough reading in all of the tales, essays, letters, and diaries of Hoffmann, his contemporaries, precursors, and critics, this study is able to shed new light on Hoffmann as a man, author, thinker, and historical figure while at the same time dissecting minutely the tale *Das fremde Kind*. It is to the credit of this monograph that the over-all place of the story being analyzed is ever kept in mind, and that as a result the study tells us almost more about many facets of Hoffmann than it does about the tale under discussion.

While searching for Hoffmann's source in literature, philosophy, and life, von Planta finds an overriding dualism of contrasting elements present in this tale as well as in much of Hoffmann. He actually lists several pages of such contrasts, representing symbolically aspects of romanticism and enlightenment, of good and of evil. Particularly this is observed in the leading figures of Magister Tinte and "das fremde Kind." Painstakingly the author traces the many fascinating autobiographical elements in the tale, which again fall into two categories: facets of Hoffmann's life and aspects of life as Hoffmann would have liked to have lived it if he had been able. The analysis of Hoffmann's attitude toward nature and his existence as a city dweller yearning for an unfettered, undisturbed, yet unterrifying nature is new and thought provoking. The attention to cruelty as an important motif of all of Hoffmann's tales as well as his personal life, and the observation of blatant lying in the tales as well as in his letters are fascinating revelations. The interweaving of texts of many tales and many authors to prove the critic's contentions is skillfully accomplished.

To look upon *Das fremde Kind* as a point of climax in Hoffmann's creative life, as von Planta does, seems to this reviewer somewhat exaggerated. Without denying certain poetical qualities to the story, it does not have the power of *Ritter Gluck*, *Der goldene Topf*, or *Kater Murr*, nor the fascination of *Das Fräulein von Scudery*. It is true that *Das fremde Kind* preceded the period of complete physical decadence brought about by what von Planta describes as the near-suicide of nightly drinking bouts. But although *Das fremde Kind* has fewer elements of realism than some of Hoffmann's other tales and reminds one more of

Novalis's *Klingsohr* and Goethe's *Märchen* in poetical flights of fancy, it can serve us better as a source of understanding of Hoffmann than as a work of literature which has a direct appeal to the modern reader.

University of Houston.

— Alfred R. Neumann

Goethe in der hispanischen Welt, seine Wirkung in Spanien und in den Ländern des spanischen Amerika.

Von Udo Rukser. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1958. 235 Seiten.

Udo Rukser, seit langem in Südamerika ansässig und gründlicher Kenner deutscher und spanischer Literatur, gibt mit diesem umfassenden Bericht den ersten vollständigen Hinweis auf die Aufnahme und Nachfolge Goethes in der Hispania. Sein Buch ist notwendigerweise gleichzeitig eine Geschichte der hispanischen Literaturbestrebungen der letzten 150 Jahre. Aus den einleitenden Kapiteln wird deutlich, daß zu Goethes Lebzeiten die spanische Literatur auf ihren Tiefpunkt gesunken war; erst im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts, dem Prozeß der „Europäisierung“ Spaniens, dringt Goethe als Teil der erneuernden Kraft mit ein, aber nicht vor der Jahrhundertmitte. Orthodoxie und Zensur machen auf lange Zeit alle Erneuerung unmöglich. Der große Brief des spanischen Zensors über den *Werther* aus dem Jahre 1803 liegt hier zum erstenmal auf Deutsch vor und ist von weit mehr als anekdotischem Interesse. Durch Emigranten, die aus England und Frankreich nach Spanien zurückkehren, kommt eine erste genauere Goethekenntnis ins Land, als Nachfolge und über den Umweg der Romantik. Entscheidendes leistete der Philosoph Julian Sanz del Rio, der eigentliche Urheber des „Krausismo“, der im Spanien der Sechzigerjahre so fruchtbar werdenden Geistesrichtung, die sich auf die Schriften des deutschen Philosophen Carl C. F. Krause stützt, einer der Treppenwitze der Geistesgeschichte.

In Südamerika verläuft, wie wir erfahren, die Modernisierung ganz anders: alles kommt von Frankreich, also auch Goethe. Erst gegen 1900 lernt man einen originaleren Goethe dort kennen. Die Ausnahme bildet Kuba. Und hier ist es verblüffend, wieder einmal dem Namen Varnhagen von Ense zu begegnen. Es scheint keine geistige oder politische Strömung, keine Begegnung in dieser Zeit zu geben, bei der man nicht auf diesen Namen stößt. Varnhagen war es, der die einzige persönliche Bekanntschaft eines Spaniers, José de la Luz, mit Goethe vermittelte, im Jahre 1830. Seine Einführungsbriefe (im Weimarer Goethe-Schiller-Archiv aufbewahrt) erscheinen hier zum erstenmal im Druck. Die ersten Vorlesungen über Goethe und Schiller werden 1863 von einem begeisterten Schüler eben dieses de la Luz gehalten. Die Madrider *Enciclopedia Moderna* von 1851 etwa bringt noch keinen Artikel über Goethe. Übersetzungen beginnen zwar schon früher zu erscheinen, als erste 1812 die von *Hermann und Dorothea*, aber erst das „europäisch gesinnte, romantische Spanien“ nach 1898 kann in Goethe den universalen Dichter und seine ganze Ausstrahlung erfassen. Das geschieht gleichzeitig mit der Aufnahme Nietzsches. Wie man hört, arbeitet Rukser gegenwärtig an einem ähnlichen Werk über Nietzsche in der spanischen Welt, dessen Erscheinen man begrüßen wird.

In den folgenden Kapiteln untersucht der Verfasser nun zunächst die Wirkung der drei am frühesten in Spanien bekanntgewordenen Werke, *Hermann und Dorothea*, *Werther* und *Faust*. Dazu hat er alle zeitgenössischen Zeitschriften, Ästhetiken, Schriften durchgesehen und gibt die jeweils ersten grundlegenden Aufsätze in einer teilweisen Übersetzung wieder und faßt andere zusammen. Während das bürgerliche Epos die spanische Dichtung so gut wie garnicht anregt, entsteht doch ein spanisch gefärbter Wertherismus; ein Kolumbianer hat sogar noch 1943 eine Ergänzung zum *Werther* geschrieben. Vom *Faust* gibt es insgesamt 60 Übersetzungen, vielfach nach dem Französischen. Erst 1920 erschienen beide Teile zusammen. Ob man Santayana und seinen englischen Goethe-Aufsatz so unbedenklich als Kronzeugen für Goethes Nachfolge im spanischen Bereich heranziehen darf? Ein etwas pedantischer Wille zur Vollständigkeit, wie etwa auch in den vielen Berichten über südamerikanische Goethefeiern und -sprecher, gibt dem Buch zuweilen etwas Provinzielles.

Die im folgenden behandelten dramatischen Werke haben kaum irgendeine sichtbare Wirkung ausgeübt, am wenigsten der *Tasso*, dessen Problematik dem Spanier offenbar nicht liegt. Ebenso wenig haben die Romane, mit Ausnahme des *Werther*, irgendwie bestimmend auf die Literatur gewirkt. Rukser erklärt das z. B. beim *Wilhelm Meister* damit, daß das Bildungsideal der deutschen Klassik eine individuelle Denkart voraussetze, für die man in Spanien kein Verständnis aufbringe. Zur Lyrik findet man vornehmlich durch Lied und Ballade Zugang. Rukser kommt da zu grundlegenden Bemerkungen über die Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten von Goethescher Lyrik ins Spanische. Der Anhang des Buches bringt eine über 20 Seiten lange historisch-bibliographische Tabelle, worin alles dem Verfasser erreichbare Material an Übersetzungen und Aufsätzen zusammengestellt ist. Diese Tabelle, eine erstaunliche Fleißarbeit, zeugt von der ungeheuren Sorgsamkeit und Emsigkeit des Verfassers und macht das Buch jedem Komparatisten unentbehrlich. Der Band ist also im Wesentlichen eine Dokumentensammlung auf historisch erklärendem Hintergrund. So ist eine saubere Grundlage für spätere interpretierende Einzelarbeiten geschaffen worden.

University of Wisconsin.

— Werner Vordtriede

Naturalismus.

Von Richard Hamann und Jost Hermand. *Deutsche Kunst und Kultur von der Gründerzeit bis zum Expressionismus*, Bd. II. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959. 336 S. DM 24.00.

This book represents a kind of cultural history unfortunately unknown on this side of the Atlantic. By drawing together in a meaningful pattern art and literature, the authors have illuminated an entire epoch. The title "naturalism" describes art forms imbued by an activism which reflects a far-reaching reordering of politics and society. Thus the naturalism of the eighties becomes a proletarian naturalism as the

struggles of the working classes penetrate the consciousness of the bourgeoisie. Starting from this historical base, the book analyzes the diversified artistic and literary expressions inspired by this naturalism, which broke with the currents of the *Gründerzeit*. Indeed, the book's first chapter deals with this rejection of a tradition which was in full retreat before the reality of a new industrial Germany. The manner in which the hallowed ideas of the seventies were exposed, and the subsequent development of the new genre are fully developed. The authors detail the effects of this upheaval upon religion, the family, as well as upon the concept of authority. The influences of environmentalism are then examined — man viewed as a part of the masses, tied to his milieu, led to depersonalization in art and literature. After discussing the influence of socialism upon art and literature, the final section is devoted to the principles of naturalistic style, particularly its tendency towards mechanization and optical precision to the exclusion of creative and imaginative elements.

This summary is but a pale reflection of the tapestry which this book weaves. Its value lies precisely in the fact that the authors have drawn upon a wide variety of examples. Though art and literature occupy the foreground, the intellectual currents of the age receive adequate attention. There are chapters on the new urge for statistics, on the growing belief that crime was a social-pathological manifestation, and on history and culture as the mirror of economic conditions. Again, to illustrate the influences of environmentalism, the authors range over the whole spectrum of art and literature, from a painting "The Railroad Station" which depicts man as the mere operator of switches, to the stage directions in Gerhart Hauptmann's early plays. "The Station" is one of several new discoveries of naturalistic art which Hermand has made during his researches. From Max Liebermann to Kaethe Kollwitz, the book's illustrations, many in color, form a well-integrated commentary on the text. Nor are newspapers and literary magazines neglected as sources of analysis, and neither are important writings on theology like those of Ernst Troeltsch. All of this can only indicate in a superficial manner the many-sidedness of the work.

The definition of naturalism which the book uses is closely linked to the struggle of the working classes, but not in a Marxist sense; indeed the book throws important light upon the interconnection between Marxism and literature as well as art. The class struggle was engulfed by a drive towards realism which penetrated artistic consciousness more from the direction of environmentalism than from any wish to glorify the proletariat as the future society. This naturalism as proletarian realism seems based more upon the reaction against the seventies and the subsequent search for reality than upon a Marxist dialectical view of life. This is certainly true for many of the artistic expressions discussed, such as the painting of Max Liebermann. Nor do the proletarian autobiographies published after the turn of the century go much beyond descriptions of a milieu. No wonder that many writers, Gerhart Hauptmann, for instance, eventually made their peace with the pseudo-idealistic tastes of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, this genre does become a new

romanticism of the proletariat. The book raises the problem of whether a Marxist art is possible on the two levels which Marx and Engels recognized: that of reality and that of theory. Raymond Williams has shown the literary confusion of Marxist artistic endeavor in England; Hermand and Hamann show its oversimplification in German naturalism.

Today Marxists reject naturalism as not sufficiently committed to the dialectical vision of a brighter future, as a bourgeois style. Nevertheless Marxist artistic expression has never managed to break the bonds of a naturalism defined as proletarian realism. Solely the school of painting in Mexico and the theater of Bert Brecht might provide examples of an art created on the two levels which Marx and Engels desired.

This work is one of a series. The next volumes will carry this kind of analysis into the twentieth century. They will have to discuss the "new romanticism" in Germany which in the end was to triumph over this naturalism. The *Gründerzeit* had not just ignored contemporary problems as Hermand implies; it had redefined these problems through *Völkische Literatur* away from an emphasis on industrialism. It is not quite true to say either that the *Gründerzeit* "berauschte sich" with Dahn, for Dahn, like Freytag, spread an ideology which was to outlast naturalism and to have grave consequences for Germany's "new romanticism." No doubt all this will be included in the next volumes. Meanwhile, the authors have written what is certainly one of the most important cultural histories which have appeared in the last decades and which should be translated into English at the earliest opportunity.

University of Wisconsin.

—George L. Mosse

The Writer in Extremis, Expressionism in Twentieth-Century German Literature.

By Walter H. Sokel. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959. vi, 251 pp. Price \$5.00.

The modern storm and stress movement of expressionism, lasting from 1910 to 1924, was one of the most violent revolutions in German literary history. In discussing this complex movement, Mr. Sokel, writing for American readers, naturally favors authors whose names have already been associated with German literature. On the other hand, many forgotten facts and obscure sources have been unearthed, to make this book an important contribution, especially since the material is widely scattered and has become extremely rare, as any one working in this field will know.

The two main sections of the book, "The New Form" and "The New Man," do not present the entire movement as an esthetic and philosophic phenomenon, separating form from content, as the titles may suggest, but refer to theoretical and practical conceptions, in particular the absence or presence of political engagement. Accordingly, writers are classified and distinguished by their message: formalists express *littérature pure*, activists *littérature engagée*. Language and style, perhaps the most important aspects of the movement, are mentioned in passing, since the book is not written for the philologist. Besides, Mr.

Sokel is mainly interested in the history of ideas, in establishing trends of thought, in analyzing themes and motifs that are common to modern writers. In the first section, "The New Form," this discussion of typical ideas offers convincing descriptions of musical composition in literature as pure composition of expressive values, of the artist's alienation from society and his anti-intellectualism as flight from his cerebral self; the second section, "The New Man," is concerned with the humanism that rejects Nietzsche and enthusiastically embraces mankind, and the final disillusionment, when the hectic revolutionary spirit gave way to the party discipline of organized communism. Scattered throughout the book are interpretations of authors; those of Benn, Brod, Johst, Kaiser, Sorge, Toller, Unruh, Wedekind, Werfel are excellent, while Kafka, Lasker-Schüler, and Trakl do not emerge in their individuality. Highly commendable is the inclusion of Heinrich Mann, Albert Ehrenstein, René Schickele, and Gustav Sack, who all too often are neglected.

While each chapter forms an excellent unit, the book as a whole, unfortunately, appears rather to be a collection of essays with the unavoidable repetitions and overlappings of such publications. Neither does a poet emerge as a personality nor is his work treated as a unit, as Mr. Sokel quotes various writings by different authors merely as illustrations or sources for his discussion of ideas. Unless a reader is acquainted with the movement, he will frequently have to refer to the index to identify authors and their works. The absence of esthetic norms becomes obvious when a book without literary merit counts as a document of the utmost importance, as for example Schickele's "Benkal der Frauentröster" (pp. 131, 149).

While one agrees with the author that the movement, chaotic and confused as it is, possesses some predominant features and therefore can be interpreted as a unit, it remains doubtful whether his attempt to define expressionism has been successful. "Cubist expressionism, surrealist expressionism, expressionism proper" (p. 29) do not contribute to our understanding, but are symptomatic of our inability to classify modern literary periods, especially in German literature. Moreover, any study of expressionism faces particular difficulties. Large areas are still unexplored, the doubly talented artist for example (Arp, Kandinsky, Kokoschka, Meidner, Schwitters), or the modern grotesque (Ball, Alfred Richard Meyer, Mynona, Scheerbart), the influence of commercial art dealers and publishers, the role of magazines and the café, the platforms of groups founded at geographic centers. As long as we do not have detailed studies of these aspects of the period nor a truly comprehensive history of expressionism, we must be satisfied with selective interpretations. Mr. Sokel is a pioneer; his contribution can not possibly be complete or definitive, but it lays the foundation for future scholarship.

The following corrections are listed for the reader's benefit: "Drei szenische . . ." (p. 125, fnt. 4), "Abendschluss" (p. 160, fnt. 32), "Gotisch" (p. 215, fnt. 46); in the bibliography, "Schöningh" (p. 237, l. 7 top), "Klett" (p. 240, l. 7 top), editor of Schiller's *Säkularausgabe* was Eduard von der Hellen (p. 241), Walzel belongs among the et al.,

Karl Ludwig Schneider's book (p. 241) was published by Winter, the magazine "Der Sturm" was discontinued as late as 1932 (p. 242).

University of Maryland.

—Christoph Hering

The Emergence of German as a Literary Language.

By Eric A. Blackall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959. 539 pages.

On opening Prof. Blackall's book to the title page, we find that he has limited his investigation to the years 1700 to 1775, the period he considers to be "the most important . . . in its (the German language's) whole history" (p. i). The early part of the eighteenth century is certainly one of the most neglected periods in the history of the German language. The aesthetic and literary merits of much of the literature produced during this time can be questioned, but what cannot be questioned are the linguistic contributions of many of the writers of that period to the development of modern German. Recent years have seen a revival of interest in the language of the baroque period, but the decades following it have not yet begun to attract the attention they deserve. It is to be hoped that Prof. Blackall's book, which focuses attention on this period and its problems, will be instrumental in rectifying this situation.

During the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, the German language underwent major transformation, and it is with this transformation that Prof. Blackall is concerned as he traces the evolution of German as a "language of tremendous individual intensity" (p. 517), an expression used to characterize the language of Goethe's first masterpieces.

To treat such a complex problem as the emergence of the literary German of the early *Goethezeit* within the confines of one volume is indeed a formidable task. The author chronicles the development from the excesses of the baroque through the *Aufklärung* and the revolt of *Sturm und Drang* to Goethe's *Urfaust*, the work which represents "an entirely new dimension of the German language" (p. 521). Among the themes which Prof. Blackall examines are the rise of German as a language of philosophy, the growth of the literary journals, the theory and development of prose and poetry, and the revival of metaphor. In the course of his investigation, the author discusses such figures as Gleim, Hagedorn, Lessing, Klopstock, Wieland, Hamann, Herder, and the young Goethe, and in doing so documents their contributions to the development of modern literary German with copious quotations.

In the opinion of this reviewer one very important topic, the influence of the language of Pietism on eighteenth century German, has been given too little attention in this book. The chapter on Klopstock contains the following statement: "It has been suggested by quite recent research that some of these elements (in Klopstock) might have come from Pietism" (p. 343). After mentioning that according to the latest research Klopstock not only was not a pietist but that there was nothing specifically pietistic about the theology of *Der Messias*, Prof.

Blackall continues: "But it is possible to be influenced by the vocabulary of ideologies one does not subscribe to — as we of the twentieth century know to our embarrassment" (p. 343). The problem here is not a matter of the "ideology" of Pietism exerting or not exerting an influence on people who did or did not subscribe to that "ideology," but rather it is a matter of a religious movement or trend serving as a creative linguistic source. It is not a question of the "vocabulary of an ideology" passing into German but of the mode of expression of a religious movement being instrumental in expanding the range of the German language. The relationship between Pietism and eighteenth-century German cannot be lightly glossed over, for this movement exerted an important formative influence on the German of the *Goethezeit* and should receive a more thorough treatment than Prof. Blackall has given it.

Some readers will take issue with the implications of the full title of this book as it appears on the title page: *The Emergence of German as a Literary Language 1700-1775*. To imply the literary German was a product of the eighteenth century is an unfortunate limitation, since it indicates a regrettable value judgment as far as other periods of German literature are concerned. Unfortunately the reader who comes to such a work without adequate background all too readily and uncritically accepts such an implied value judgment. Goethe was not *the* great writer who used German creatively; he was *one* of the great ones. Where must we put Walther von der Vogelweide, Wolfram, Luther, Fischart, and Grimmelshausen, to mention only a few? The general problem of the development of German as a literary language seems to be more complicated than Prof. Blackall's book would lead one to believe.

In spite of the above criticisms, the work is a welcome addition to the literature on the eighteenth century, both for the light it casts on a crucial era in German literary history and for insights into the development of literary German during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century.

Northwestern University.

—Leland R. Phelps

Deutsche Wortgeschichte.

Herausgegeben von Friedrich Maurer und Friedrich Stroh. Zweite, neu bearbeitete Auflage. II. Bd., 1-4. Lfg. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1958.

The second volume begins with section V, *Vom Barock bis zur Gegenwart*. Willi Flemming's *Barock* is an improvement over the previous contribution of the same name, which took up *Wortgeschichte* only in a short final section. In this relatively brief chapter we see the effects of the characteristically Baroque heightening of interest in the sounds and forms of the words; more might have been done towards bringing out the influence of other languages on the semantics of several important native words.

Der Wortschatz des 18. Jahrhunderts by August Langen replaces the previous *Vernunftssprachtum* and, as with most of the present con-

tributions, has been brought closer to the *Wortgeschichte* theme. Langen's chapter is lengthy and shows signs of patching together: we find both *implicite* (105) and *implizite* (126), and there are several clusters of "telegraphic" sentences which may betray the ends of sessions of work. The reader finds himself asking the purpose for which all this was written. It is nearly impossible to read straight through, since there is only one pause for breath in all 199 pages, and the thread is easily lost in the wealth of evidence; on the other hand, it is hard to use for reference because neither a word nor a general subject can be found easily in the absence of subheadings. The promised index will undoubtedly help here.

But those who persevere find many rewards. The chapter as a whole is arranged with great skill, giving the reader a sense of the slow but steady streams of development in the language as a whole. The thread submerges under lengthy documented discussions, only to reappear again pages later and resume the display of changing social conditions and the complex mechanism of one intellectual movement leading into another (e.g. Irrationalism into *Sturm und Drang*). Detailed examination of some much-used words occasionally has the slightly disconcerting effect of removing the luster from a fine phrase: Winckelmann's famous *still*, for instance, appears to have been thoroughly prepared for, and *tiefe schweigende Schwermut* takes its place in short-lived fads. Reading of these developments brings up many implications and problems, some of which are discussed by Langen (197-8). The chapter ends with a discussion of common concepts in the German, French, and English vocabularies.

Friedrich Kainz's *Klassik und Romantik* is essentially the same as his previous contribution, with some expansions. Since this chapter almost inevitably concentrates on a few individuals (Goethe, Schiller, Kant, Schopenhauer, Campe), it shows less development than does the preceding one but is in general easier to read because of the lighter load of evidence. Here Winckelman comes onto the stage once again as we see his *edel* enriched by the discussion of all that the word meant to his time. New, also, are the excellent excursions at several points into the aims and methods of *Wortgeschichte*.

Certain passages have a wider interest. Thus we are given an interesting glimpse into the process of formation of what has been aptly termed Standard Average European — the general semantic and even morphological pattern into which most European languages have come to fit as a result of centuries of borrowing and translating back and forth. On p. 298 ff. we see German coming into line with French with Campe's *Inhaltsverzeichnis* (*Register*), *Stelldichein* (*Rendezvous*), *stofflich* (*materiell*), *wesentlich* (*essentiell*) and others, words which reflect an increasing closeness in conceptual framework.

The section on *Romantik* is more detailed than *Klassik*, but treated in the same way. The expected attention is given to words like *innerlich*, *Mond*, *Wunder*, *Schicksal*. Perhaps the most significant tie to our own

time is the analysis of the roots of modern German idealism reflected in words like *deutsch*, *ur-*, *Reich*, *Volk*.

University of Wisconsin.

—William Z. Shetter

Vom Sein der Welt. Beiträge zur mythologischen Literaturgeschichte von Goethe bis zur Gegenwart.

Von Alfred Dornheim. Veröffentlichung Nr. 3 der „Argentinischen Goethegesellschaft,“ Gruppe Mendoza. Mendoza, Argentinien, 1958. 434 S.

Der vorliegende Sammelband enthält Aufsätze, worin literarische Gestalten oder Landschaften (aus Werken verschiedenen Ranges) als archetypisch im Sinne C. G. Jungs und Karl Kerényis aufgefaßt und dargestellt werden. In zwei prinzipiell verschiedenen Weisen läßt sich dazu Stellung nehmen. Die erste wird versuchen, den archetypischen Charakter der betreffenden Schöpfungen zu leugnen oder zu bagatelisieren, jedenfalls das spezifisch Ein- oder Erstmalige als das literarisch einzig Wichtige anzusehen; die zweite jedoch, die Fruchtbarkeit Jungscher Betrachtung anzuerkennen und sehr behutsam an Einzelpunkten Kritik zu üben. Den ersten Weg ist Wilhelm Emrich 1953 in seinem Euphorion-Aufsatz gegangen, nachdem Dornheims Aufsatz „Goethes ‚Mignon‘ und Thomas Manns ‚Echo‘“ (jetzt das Endstück des Buches) im vorausgehenden Jahrgang der gleichen Zeitschrift und Danckerts *Goethe* im Jahre 1951 erschienen waren. Der Rezensent beabsichtigt, sich dagegen auf dem zweiten Wege vorwärtszutasten.

Um zu beweisen, daß unter dem mythologischen Gesichtspunkt eine ganze Literaturgeschichte geschrieben werden könnte, sind Dornheims Beispiele viel zu vereinzelt. Wir stellen also von vornherein fest, daß wir die „mythologische Literaturgeschichte“ des Untertitels der Entdeckerfreude des Verfassers zugute halten, nicht ganz ernst nehmen und uns mit Einzelfragen auseinandersetzen wollen.

Ogbleich Dornheim eine fast universelle Gültigkeit seiner Betrachtungsweise programmatisch postuliert, scheinen ihm spezifische Resultate gelegentlich dadurch entgangen zu sein, daß er seine Termini nicht scharf genug faßt. So war es dem Rezensenten nicht möglich, eine klar umrissene Bedeutung der Begriffe „mythisch,“ „mythologisch,“ „archetypisch“ und „antik“ bei Dornheim zu erkennen, vielmehr scheinen sie als Synonyme behandelt zu sein. Hiervon können „mythologisch“ und „antik“ konventionell erstarrte Bildungsmotive der abendländischen Kultur bezeichnen. Seit der Renaissance enthielt ein sehr großer Teil von Literatur und Kunst mythologische Motive und vieles wurde in antikem Kostüm oder lieber noch in antiker Nacktheit dargestellt. In antiker Kultur war natürlich alles „antik,“ und die meisten Motive waren mythologisch. Daß dieser ganze Wust überlieferter Kunst- und Literaturwerke „mythischer“ Natur sei und archetypische Gestalten enthielte, kann Dornheim nicht ernstlich meinen, denn dann wäre alles, was bisher irgendein Klassizismus oder dessen Derivat war, mythisch und archetypisch; einer alten Sache, die oft nur lebloseste Bildungstraditionen weiterschleppte, wäre lediglich eine neue Etikette

aufgeklebt. Um zu verstehen, was Dornheim eigentlich meint, müssen wir uns an seine konkreten Darstellungen halten, wovon nur einige im folgenden diskutiert seien.

In dem Aufsatz „Mythos als Erlebnis und Dichtung: Die ‚Italienische Reise‘ und das ‚Nausikaa‘-Fragment“ (an der Spitze des Bandes) stellt Dornheim Goethes italienische Reise als des Dichters Reise ins Mythische und Archetypische dar. Das Ergebnis, Nausikaa sei eine Artemis, die tragisch in den Persephone-Typus hinüberwechsle, wirkt deshalb enttäuschend, weil die *Nausikaa* über das Stadium des Planens kaum hinausgekommen ist. Man könnte geradezu die Fragment gebliebene *Nausikaa* als Beweis dafür anführen, daß Goethe eben doch kein antiker Dichter (der in diesem Falle mit dem archetypisch schaffenden identisch wäre) gewesen sei.

Nun finden wir aber am Ende des Bandes den bereits erwähnten Aufsatz über Mignon und Echo, und wir erfahren: Nicht nur die in Italien konzipierte Nausikaa sei archetypisch, sondern auch die ein halbes Jahrzehnt vor der Reise konzipierte Mignon sei es. (Versehentlich gibt Dornheim 1784 als Entstehungsjahr der Mignon-Ballade an; sie ist spätestens am 12. Nov. 1782 entstanden!) Die physische Reise ins mythologisch-klassische Land war also für Goethe gar nicht nötig, um mythisch und archetypisch schaffen zu können. Leider macht nun Dornheim gar keinen Versuch, einen archetypischen Kern Mignons herauszuschälen oder verschiedene Stufen in Goethes Behandlung der Mignon-Gestalt voneinander abzusetzen. Schon die Tatsache, daß er die Ballade nach der endgültigen Fassung mit dem wahrscheinlichen Druckfehler „Geliebter“ statt „Gebierter“ zitiert und nicht nach derjenigen der *Sendung*, wo in jeder Strophe „Gebierter“ steht, stimmt bedenklich. Da archetypisches Schaffen eine Sache der Inspiration ist, dürfen wir die vom Bildungswissen unverfälschteste archetypische Gestaltung in Urfassungen zu finden hoffen!

Gewiß hat Goethe den Roman nur in seiner Endfassung bekanntwerden lassen wollen. Und moderne Interpretation kümmert sich nicht um Entstehungsphasen. (Im Ignorieren des tatsächlichen Bruches zwischen *Sendung* und *Lehrjahren* glaubt der Rezensent die Schwäche von Emrichs Position in dessen Euphorion-Artikel sehen zu können!) Wenn Goethe in *Wilhelm Meisters* Endfassung der neunziger Jahre revolutionslose Gesellschaftsbefriedigung durch Versöhnung von Bürgertum und Adel (Mesalliancen) predigte, so war er gewiß kein mythischer Dichter mehr, so mußte er seine eigne archetypische Inspiration verkennen und aus der von ihm dargestellten vorbildlichen Menschenwelt verbannen. Gewiß wäre Mignon auch in einer im ursprünglichen Sinne zuende geführten *Sendung* an einem bestimmten Punkte wieder entzückt worden, aber in der Endfassung wird sie der Gesellschaftsharmonie grausam geopfert, und dieses Opfer wird durch ästhetische Lebensimitation in bildender Kunst verklärt (schon Schiller hat hier Anstoß genommen). Mir scheint die archetypisch erstaunlich glaubwürdig dargestellte Mignon der *Sendung* eine dichterisch-numinose Gestalt aus einer echt mythisch inspirierten Entwicklungsphase des Dichters zu sein, die bildgewordene tote aber ein mythologisches Bildungsgeschöpf

einer klassizistischen Spätphase. Ob die „Hochklassik“ eine in Goethes Entwicklung notwendige und sinnvolle Stufe darstelle oder aber einen hoffnungslos anachronistischen Versuch des einstigen Wertherdichters, sich in einen traditionell-festen Stil zu retten, kann hier nicht erörtert werden. Daß Goethe nach der italienischen Reise Mignon irrtümlich für ein Produkt moderner gesellschaftlicher Vorurteile und einer unmenschlichen Religion hielt, daß er nicht wußte, daß ihre numinos-archetypischen Charakteristika in einer religiösen Gestalt echter Klassik (auch der griechischen!) gefunden werden könnten, geht aus der Notiz des Jahres 1793 hervor: „Wahnsinn des Mißverhältnisses,“ mehr noch aus der schließlichen Auflösung ihres Geheimnisses im achten Buche der *Lehrjahre*. Dort wird der Inzest, dessen Frucht Mignon sein soll, aus der Schrulligkeit des Vaters der Geschwister, der seine spätgeborene legitime Tochter aus Angst vor Lächerlichkeit verheimlichte, und die tragische Trennung des Geschwisterpaares aus der Strenge der Priester erklärt. Schiller lobte diese Lösung am 2. Juli 1796: „Wie schön gedacht ist es, daß Sie das praktisch Ungeheure, das furchtbar Pathetische im Schicksal Mignons und des Harfenspielers von dem theoretisch Ungeheuren, von den Mißgeburten des Verstandes ableiten so daß der reinen und gesunden Natur nichts dadurch aufgebürdet wird. Nur im Schoß des dummen Aberglaubens werden diese monstrosen Schicksale ausgeheckt, die Mignon und den Harfenspieler verfolgen.“ Niemand wird zu behaupten wagen, daß wir uns bei solcher Anschauung noch im Gebiete des Archetypischen, wie es in jeder wahren Religion erscheint, befänden.

Wenn man „mythisch“ und „archetypisch“ sorgfältig von „mythologisch“ und „antik-klassisch“ unterscheidet, dann sollte es also möglich sein, Epochen in Kulturabläufen oder Entwicklungsphasen im schöpferischen Dasein eines einzelnen Künstlers deutlicher gegeneinander abzugrenzen, als es bisher möglich war. In Goethes Fall ergäbe sich, daß des Dichters eigentlich mythische Periode, in der er archetypisch zu konzipieren und zu gestalten vermochte, das erste Weimarer Jahrzehnt war, das wir als vorklassisch anzusehen pflegen. Daß aber die hochklassische Zeit tatsächlich die eines formalen Klassizismus war, weil sie das Verhältnis zum Mythischen und Archetypischen verloren hatte. Das sollte sich nicht nur aus der Urkonzeption Mignons in der *Sendung* und ihrer Erstarrung zum schönen Bilde am Ende der *Lehrjahre* ergeben, sondern auch bei Betrachtung anderer Werke. Gewiß verdankt das Gedicht „An den Mond“ seinen undeutbaren Zauber der mythischen Inspiriertheit seines Dichters. Gewiß sind Balladen wie „Erlkönig“ und „Der Fischer“ mythisch echter als „Der Schatzgräber,“ obgleich in letzterem der schöne Knabe archetypisch durchaus als Hermes-Manifestation anmutet und aus mythologischem Wissen konzipiert sein dürfte, dabei aber eine so hausbackne Lebensweisheit verkündet, daß der echt-hermetische Geist von Schalkhaftigkeit und Verschlagenheit und damit der wahrhaft-mythische Hermes-Charakter vollständig fehlt.

Von solchen Unterscheidungen erfahren wir jedoch bei Dornheim nichts, da das Archetypische im Endprodukt des *Wilhelm Meister* gesucht und damit die ganze „Hochklassik“ als archetypisch-schaffend

charakterisiert wird. Natürlich wäre Mignon auch in einer konsequent zuende geführten *Sendung* schwer zu erklären gewesen, da eine mythische Gestalt einfach nicht in eine derb-realistisch dargestellte Gesellschaft hineinpaßt. Selbst die Mignon-Ballade enthält (trotz Oskar Seidlins gegenteiliger Behauptung) konkret-geographische Züge. Diese Tatsache mag der Grund dafür gewesen sein, daß Hofmannsthal in seinem „Reiselied“ das menschliche Element auf ein „wir“ und „uns“ reduzierte, mythische Vögel, die „uns“ forttragen, einführte und eine rein-hyperboreische ‚Mignon‘-Landschaft, eine reine Landschaft Apolls, ohne konkrete Italien- oder St. Gotthardanspielung bot. Die Verwandtschaft zwischen Mignon-Ballade und „Reiselied“ betont Dornheim, doch sind ihm die historischen Zusammenhänge belanglos. Gerade bei dem Vergleich der beiden Gedichte wäre Goethes Mischung von Mythischem und konkret Geographisch-Geschichtlichem zu erweisen gewesen. So ist es wohl auch kein bloßer Zufall, daß Dornheim die Arbeiten Hermann Meyers, wo konkrete geographische und architekturgeschichtliche Vorstellungen Goethes nachgewiesen werden, nirgends erwähnt, während andererseits lange – zuweilen kritisch kommentierte – Zitate aus bedeutungslosen Modewerken Dornheims Buch um alle stilistische Einheit zu bringen drohen. Auch Dornheims Nichterwähnen des wichtigen Aufsatzes „Der Gott der Diebe und sein Dichter“ von Walter Jens (zuerst im fünften Bande von *Antike und Abendland*, Hamburg 1956) ist zu bedauern, da andererseits ganz Ephemerem viel Raum geboten und damit der Eindruck vollständiger Darstellung der gegenwärtigen literarischen Meinungen erweckt wird.

Da Dornheims Arbeiten über Goethe die meist kürzeren Aufsätze in der Mitte des Buches umrahmen und da von der Mignon-Ballade die Brücke zum „Reiselied“ geschlagen ist, haben wir uns mit den dort angeschnittenen Problemen eingehender beschäftigt, als wir es mit dem übrigen tun können, wofür wir des Autors und der Leser Vergebung erbitten. Nur einem möglichen Mißverständnis sei vorgebeugt: Trotz der starken Betonung von Goethes Italien- und Antike-Erlebnis am Anfang seines Buches weiß Dornheim sehr wohl, daß mythisch-archetypische Gestalten ganz unerwartet in ganz unklassischer Umgebung auftreten können. So wird in einer „Kalendergeschichte“ von Jeremias Gottlieb ein „junger, schöner“ Berner Bauernbursche (so etwas gibt es also?) als Hermes-Manifestation im bäuerlichen Realismus des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts erkannt. Weiter werden mythische Elemente bei Schiller, Hölderlin, Eichendorff, Mörike, Gerh. Hauptmann, Wilh. Lehmann nachgewiesen, wobei die Bedeutsamkeit dieser Motive bei den einzelnen Dichtern sehr verschieden ist. Ein Aufsatz über Hans Arps Gedichte fügt sich dem Buch nur deshalb ein, weil Dornheim von einem „Mythos des Absurden“ spricht, wirklich mythisch-archetypische Vorstellungen hat der Rezensent in den angeführten Beispielen nicht entdecken können.

The University of Connecticut.

—Hans Albert Maier

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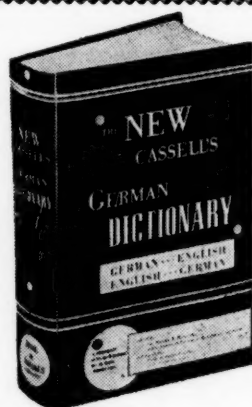
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